

MODERN LIVING

Imaginative hotel complex for Munich

FIRST PERMANENT AUTOMOBILE DISPLAY

In Munich a major development scheme can be launched because forty years ago a young man from Württemberg was dissatisfied with women's wasted labour even in the most modern kitchens.

The connection is quite simple. Werner Spingler, now 53 and resident in Stuttgart, studied electrical engineering before the war in Berlin, Danzig and Stuttgart and bought in 1953, for 60,000 Marks, a factory in Neuffen which could not make up its mind to live or die.

Here Spingler realised an old ambition to manufacture household appliances which would not exactly make housework a pleasure but which would at least shorten the agony and give plagued housewives a chance to enjoy the better things in life. Later, assisted by his partner, Werner Spingler extended the small enterprise until it began to flourish in a big way.

Eventually the ESCE had subsidiaries throughout the Federal Republic, in France, Switzerland and Japan, and in the sixties the Americans began to look up and take notice. General Electric made such a fantastic offer in 1966 that Werner Spingler "simply could not resist."

'In' amusement centre in Schwabing

Citta 2000 is a novel amusement and shopping centre in Schwabing, Munich. It features everything from beer and beer to Scottish bagpipes.

Hundreds came for the opening. In the marble-white building on the Leopoldstrasse the brothers Anusch and Teiour Sany have established a centre of pop culture and mass consumption.

In a labyrinth of rooms, connected by a maze of corridors, mini-streets and multi-level platforms, visitors can enjoy whatever happens to be on, for example jet trips and cars, records and gold jewellery, posters and wigs, hippie beads and Buddha figures.

In an "intimate" cinema comedies are shown non-stop for twelve hours. Coffee is served between sessions.

This of course has nothing to do with good old Schwabing. The successful Samys are the first to admit this. On the opening night they publicly burned the "old Schwabing pigtail," meaning old, old Schwabing traditions, and presented huge golden heads as their symbol for Citta 2000.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 January 1969)

The rich director was at a loose end. It was then, according to his public relations manager in Munich, that Spingler "applied himself to a novel and interesting construction project."

The Stuttgart millionaire, who had begun his career fifteen years ago making coffee-grinders, is now one of two partners in Münchner Auto-Zentrum. This new company is to finance a project, unique in the Federal Republic, on a 144,000 square-foot site on the Isarhöhe near the Deutsche Museum.

A complex combining a first-class hotel with 500 beds, a large guest-house, restaurants, a night club, conference rooms, a shopping centre covering 40,000 square feet, a swimming pool with sauna bath on the roof and a bowling alley in the cellar is planned. Total cost is estimated at fifty million Marks.

What will distinguish the hotel on the Rosenheimer Berg, however, from all other hotels in the country will be this country's first permanent automobile showroom. Since the possibility of forming a clear picture of the range of new models on the market presents itself only every two years at the International Automobile Exhibition in Frankfurt, dealers and manufacturers have for years been toying with the idea of setting up a permanent salon.

This project is now to be realised in Munich. In 1971, in the exhibition rooms adjoining the new hotel, prospective buyers can examine a wide range of new models, from Volkswagen to Cadillac.

To the dismay of established hoteliers, and the joy of visitors to the Bavarian capital, Munich will be equipped with a few thousands extra beds by 1972, the year of the Olympic Games. American companies are building a large hotel with 1,200 beds in the Arabella Park, and another one in the English Garden.

Also under discussion is a Hilton Hotel near the central railway station. The new hotel on the Rosenheimer Berg therefore, in which Spingler is investing several million Marks and much of his time and energy, will not be Munich's largest hotel in 1972, and by that year it almost certainly will not be the newest luxury building in that city.

That this complex is more welcome in Munich than other comparable projects is obvious for two reasons. Firstly, the hotel will be a boost for the catering trade by being built on historical ground. Secondly, this project will be a great uplift for the district to the east of Munich which, de-

Model of the hotel complex that is to be built by private enterprise in Munich

(Photo: ringpress)

spite its excellent connections with the city centre, has been rather neglected in recent years.

The new hotel will be quite near the place where Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, built an important bridge over the Isar for the salt trade, after the existing bridge belonging to the Bishop of Freising had been destroyed. According to the city's chronicles, hostilities sprang up around this bridge, and this was the true beginning of the town of Munich.

The population also acquired an international stamp, which did not always please the people of Munich, concentrated on the other side of the Isar. Later, breweries were built high up over the river.

Fifty beer cellars are sufficient proof that this was a great meeting-place in the heyday of Munich's "Biergarten" tradition.

One of the relics of the Good Old Days when the men of Munich put away their ten stotens of beer after a day's work is the Kinde-Keller. The old walls will be removed next spring when the site is prepared for the new hotel.

Munich's city councillors are also pleased about this project because not one of the fifty million Marks required comes from public funds. At the presentation of the plans and model therefore Munich's Minister of Economics Affairs, Albert Bayerle, was not sparing in his good wishes. "I hope that Munich's attraction will always help to fill the hotel's beds," he said.

All the people of Munich are apprehensive about it that the project may be too good to be true. Many attempts have been made in the past to build on a sumptuous scale on these heights with their splendid view of the city, with the Marienplatz less than a mile away. But no local contractor ever took the plunge.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 16 January 1969)

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The German Tribune

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A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Nixon's Berlin visit will deflate propaganda sails

DIE WELT

UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

President Nixon's decision to visit Berlin during his stay in this country will, in view of the latest protests and veiled threats made by East Berlin against the election of the Federal President in West Berlin, be understood everywhere as a demonstration of resolution in the face of Soviet policy and a gesture of solidarity with the free part of Berlin.

It can only have been Richard Nixon's own wish. In the tense atmosphere surrounding the Berlin session of the Federal Assembly, the electoral college that is to elect President Lübke's successor, diplomatic considerations in respect of relations with Moscow could well have decided him against paying the visit.

So the presence in Berlin of the new American President on 27 February, a week before the election of the Federal President, will be neither an empty

On the other hand, Britain, France and the United States have never expressly recognised West Berlin as part of the Federal Republic. They will not do so in the future, either, just as they have always rejected the Ulbricht regime's claim to Berlin as its capital city on the ground that this claim represents a unilateral violation of the city's status as a single unit occupied by the Allies.

Yet the political and economic ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic are as much part of post-war reality as is the de facto incorporation of East Berlin in the German Democratic Republic. In visiting West Berlin President Nixon is also setting foot on the joint political terrain of the city and the Federal Republic, which has set up institutions in West Berlin and is to elect its next President there.

The question as to the political expediency of holding this particular election during the current year has been answered once and for all by the sharply-worded protest lodged by East Berlin in which all the stops are pulled out in an attack on Bonn.

East Berlin's claim to sovereignty over West Berlin is without foundation. The accusation that in convening the Federal Assembly in Berlin the Federal Republic is pursuing a policy of expansion on GDR territory is scurrilous.

The real political significance of this visit is probably to be found in its provocative nature — no doubt an attempt to bring massive pressure to bear again and to justify aggressive administrative measures against West Berlin as a defence against aggression, as sanctions against a violation of the law.

President Nixon's visit to Berlin will take much of the wind out of the sails of this threat and the propaganda campaign that has heralded it. It will offset much of the psychological effect both on the people of West Berlin and on the general public and powers that be in the Federal Republic.

Even for people who may have considered withdrawing in the face of East Berlin's threats yielding to pressure is now out of the question.

Pressure will perhaps be brought to bear on West Berlin but it will not have serious international repercussions. Even

gesture designed to appease nervousness in this country nor a grudging payment of lip service to Long-forgotten past vows.

Mr Nixon appears to be a sober, practical statesman who practises politics without pathos by coming to grips with the situation in hand. He is obviously coming to the divided city in order to make it clear that America still stands by its commitments to West Berlin.

What is more, President Nixon is making a personal commitment to the links between the city-state and the Federal Republic at a difficult time at which the risk of a crisis should not be underestimated. The United States has always considered the three basic stipulations made by the Western Allies and this country for the status and security of West Berlin to be indispensable and inalienable rights. They are: freedom of access, viability of the city and Allied rights to station troops in Berlin.



Economic Affairs Minister Karl Schiller,

Chief Burgomaster Andreas Urschlechter of Nuremberg and Bavarian Premier Alfons Goppel (from left to right in that order) are here seen at the opening of this year's Nuremberg Toy Fair, at which 1,350 exhibitors from 33 countries exhibited more than 200,000 products.

(Photo: dpa)

before Mr Nixon's decision the risk was none too serious but it was a calculated risk on Bonn's part.

The Soviet Union will be even less interested in a renewed flare-up of the Berlin crisis at the beginning of the new President's term of office after President Nixon himself has visited the city and before the Ulbricht regime has been able

to take action against the holding of the Presidential elections in the city.

President Nixon has disregarded the slight risk of diplomatic complications because the date arranged represents a most convenient opportunity of taking the initiative in defending the joint position in Berlin.

(Continued on page 2)

Bonn's brighter foreign policy

A ray of light has descended on the fogbound, depressing landscape of Grand Coalition foreign policy. Maybe all has not been in vain after all. The visit to Bonn of Yugoslav Economic Affairs Minister Granfil proves that Bonn is not totally isolated.

The talks in progress in Bonn and other cities are, it is true, only concerned with specialist economic issues, but maybe the experts will have to pave the way for the politicians.

By virtue of Soviet policy towards Czechoslovakia and the pressure that, although imperceptibly as yet, is bring-

brought to bear on Belgrade Yugoslavia is compelled cautiously to remember its friends in the West.

Since the resumption of diplomatic relations on 31 January 1968 the Federal Republic has been among their number. These ties are now being further improved and strengthened.

The recent agreement between Bonn and Belgrade on economic, technological and industrial cooperation proves that in future more should burden the more exchange of diplomatic courtesies. It may be that the groundwork is being laid for an economic marriage of convenience between the two.

This agreement, which is in the process of being signed, holds forth the prospect of this country gaining credibility in non-aligned countries in particular by more than the construction of new factories and other industrial installations. It could help to bridge the apparently insuperable gap between wealthy industrialised countries and poor developing nations.

Viewed in this light the agreement could well create more confidence than many a thousand million Marks of development aid have succeeded in achieving. The facilities for the exchange of specialists and trainees are specially worthy of attention. Man-to-man contacts break down political and economic clichés far more readily than cash does.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 February 1969)

Berlin overland traffic again hit

In announcing a ban on overland access to West Berlin for participants and staff of the Federal Assembly and members of the Bundeswehr East Berlin has taken the "measures" that it has threatened on several occasions.

The Soviet Znanie Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already reiterated its well-known communist dissatisfaction with the convening of the Federal Assembly in West Berlin in a teleprinted note to the Bonn Foreign Office. The old claim that West Berlin forms part of the territory of the German Democratic Republic also reappeared in the East Berlin note.

The transit ban appears, like other, earlier bans, only to apply to overland traffic. The people affected are, in any case, ready to fly if need be. So there is still reason to hope that the Soviet Union will continue to have a restraining effect on its East Berlin clientele.

Provided the West does not outdo itself in its proven ineptitude in dealing with what is a routine session of the Federal Assembly in Berlin the risk of further escalation can, it can only be hoped, be avoided.

Richard Nixon could prove a healthy stimulant. He does not run after his opponents continually offering prior concessions, which the other side only interprets as a sign of weakness.

There can, of course, be no comparison between this country and the United States, a world power, but when Bonn, small but economically and financially powerful, is urged to make concessions, it could agree to make them while at the same time seeing how its own interests can best be furthered.

This, mind you, involves abandoning the widely-held view that Bonn must buckle to as soon as it is told. Blindly sign the non-proliferation treaty, say, otherwise there may be isolation or even worse. Lily-livered anxiety cancels out common sense.

Moscow promptly gave the new US President to understand that it was interested in negotiations with the new adminis-

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Now is the time for calculated concessions eastwards

tration and Mr Nixon immediately took up the offer. But his reaction differed from that of President Johnson, who in the same position offered the Russians nuclear peace without strings.

President Nixon evidently sees the non-proliferation treaty first and foremost as a test of Soviet readiness to negotiate in world affairs. During the election campaign he talked in terms of military superiority, he has now skillfully changed his tune to one of adequate military strength.

Belgrade-Bonn cultural agreement signed

Preparations are being made in Bonn for a long-term cultural exchange programme with Yugoslavia on the basis of the two cultural agreements recently drawn up in Belgrade and due for signature in Bonn this summer after the Federal states have given their approval. The exchange programmes, which are to be prepared by a joint commission, are to be arranged for periods of two years.

The two agreements provide for the exchange of artists, academic staff and students, mutual recognition of certain diplomas and the establishment of two information centres in the other country. The Federal government intends to set up its centres, which by Yugoslav law may not be called Goethe Institutes and may teach German only indirectly by providing teaching materials, in Belgrade and Zagreb. It is not yet known where Yugoslavia intends to establish its centres.

The Federal government evidently attaches considerable importance to this second attempt to come to an agreement

Continued from page 1

In assuming that the new American President would exercise restraint in order not to jeopardise the prospects of coming to terms with the Soviet Union on overall security policy Moscow and East Berlin misjudged the new administration's calculations.

To this extent President Nixon's decision to visit Berlin is of not only symbolic but also practical political significance. Richard Nixon has manoeuvred himself into a favourable tactical position and at the same time has made a considerable contribution towards the de-escalation of what is, in point of fact, an absurd situation.

Lothar Ruehl
(DIE WELT, 5 February 1969)

Scandinavian customs union

By means of a Nordic customs union Scandinavia could become an economic force capable of competing with this country and Italy. Swedish Premier Tage Erlander noted at the end of the Copenhagen meeting of Scandinavian heads of government, making clear the hopes Stockholm has of plans for a customs union.

The other Scandinavian leaders were also prompt to emphasise Scandinavian solidarity. Economic compulsion may be the main immediate reason for the plans but there can be no overlooking the fact that the idea of Scandinavian integration has gained in importance after the failure of the concept of an integrated Europe.

Even if the advocates of a Nordic customs union do emphasise that it would not affect their political and military links with other countries and would on no account be intended as a counter to the European Common Market (it is even claimed that a Scandinavian customs union would make entry into the Common Market easier), it is fairly obvious that a customs union, once set up, would have a weight of its own and develop strong ties that could not fail to have political repercussions as well.

A Nordic customs union with Sweden as its main member might encourage the neutralisation of Scandinavia, which would present fresh problems for the defence of Europe. (DIE WELT, 5 February 1969)

This is an artful dodge, since adequate strength in practice means just enough superiority to ensure security. Henry A. Kissinger, the President's foreign policy adviser, talks in terms of relative security.

The concept of relative security is a realistic one. Absolute security is nowhere in sight. Even so, the tone, choice of words and outline of ideas are cordial. The aim is to demonstrate that Washington is willing to talk. Mr Nixon attaches great importance to discussions with Moscow. Understandably enough.

For the time being recognition of Red China is not on the cards, but shrewd politicians in Peking also seem to be interested in making approaches to the new President.

Why else would Soviet diplomats in Washington try, unofficially for the time being, to suggest to the United States that there are no real objections to US military bases in Vietnam, on China's south-western flank.

The inclusion of China in Washington's political deliberations could open up a new way to help end the Vietnam war.

Where does Bonn stand in relation to Washington, Moscow and Peking, the three giants. Europe as a whole, if only the six member-countries of the European Common Market, would obviously be less of a lightweight in comparison.

Of the Six France is unfortunately still bemused by the idea of playing the role of a great power and fails to realise that cooperation in and with Europe could bring its plans to fruition.

But if President Nixon intends to use the non-proliferation treaty as a test of willingness to negotiate Bonn ought to grasp the opportunity of signing and strengthening cooperation with the United States but refuse to sign as long as sections of the text continue to discriminate against this country.

Richard Nixon is not a profligator. At the beginning of his term in office he is ready to take the initiative but not prepared to go begging in Moscow. But he is a realist and ought to be prepared to pay a fair price when something is offered to him that he wants. He knows how to accompany his own offers with demands, as Europe will no doubt see shortly.

Kurt Wessel
(Münchener Merkur, 1 February 1969)

Denis Healey talks nuclear sense at Munich

Healey rejected the idea that an enemy advance could and should first be intercepted by conventional troops.

Mr Healey's interpretation of Nato strategy accordingly represents a virtual return to the strategy of old, even if the British Defence Minister does not assign to conventional armour the role of a mere tripwire that triggers off large-scale nuclear retaliation.

In order to be credible in their main role as the potential nuclear tripwire and so create the deterrent effect the non-nuclear Nato forces do not nevertheless need to be increased to any great extent. Increases in active troop strength would not, in any case, be financially possible nor would they have any political point.

Mr Healey's argument makes sense. He clearly rejects the idea of a conceivably successful limited war in this country. But the United States, on which the use of the Western deterrent depends in the final analysis, has so far had different ideas and the differences were not only on details.

American participants in the Munich debate were unable to say whether the new administration in Washington holds different views. Republican Senator John Tower and Professor Hans Speier of the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, made it clear that the American leadership is more ready to bear European interests in mind but at the same time stressed that President Nixon will first have to cope with the abundance of unsolved problems left behind by Lyndon Johnson.

Denis Healey unquestionably assessed the situation correctly in pointing out the need to bring influence to bear on the talks between America and the Soviet Union about ending the arms race in good time.

"If Europe is not prepared to make a joint stand on the problems discussed by Russia and America," Mr Healey said, "it will have hardly the slightest prospect of being able to influence the course of the talks."

British proposals to this effect can clearly be expected. Whitehall is going to set the pace for the Old World and try to fill the vacuum left by France. This reflects a remarkable change on the European scene, a change that together with the change-over in America may well hold forth the promise of new emphases in the development of the North Atlantic pact.

Wolfram von Raven
(Münchener Allgemeine, 5 February 1969)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Von Hassel - new Bundestag president

EARLY PROMISE FULLFILLED

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHENER NEUERES NACHRICHTEN

Just ten years ago Kai-Uwe von Hassel seemed to be directly in line for the highest government office. He was nominated Christian Democratic Union (CDU) candidate for Federal President by the then party leaders Heinrich Krone and Hermann Höderl.

But his nomination was dropped because Gerhard Schröder and Konrad Adenauer suddenly proposed Ludwig Erhard's candidature. Admittedly nothing came of this suggestion either, but the CDU leaders did not revert to their original nominee von Hassel, who was then Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, even when Adenauer who had accepted candidature decided after much hesitation not to stand as a possible successor to Theodor Heuss.

Now Kai-Uwe von Hassel has been elected President of the Bundestag. Although he was a member of the Bundestag for one year in 1953 before he became Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, and although he was made one of the four CDU deputy party chairmen in 1956, Hassel's name only became widely known in Bonn and throughout the country when Adenauer appointed him Minister of Defence in December 1962 as Franz Josef Strauss' successor.

Even though today some of Hassel's friends occasionally suggest that it would be best to forget his three years at the Defence Ministry, one cannot avoid assessing his career in this post. In fact, it proved that the post of Prime Minister in Kiel is not necessarily sufficient preparation for both administering and directing such an important department as the Ministry of Defence.

At the time Hassel wanted to do a better job than his predecessors Blank and Strauss. He soon identified himself with the wishes of officers and soldiers, showed understanding for traditions and frills, studied with incredible conscientiousness the details of weapons, uniforms and so on, until his detailed knowledge blurred his overall perspective. Eventually he was hardly a Minister of Defence, but rather the political representative of the Bundeswehr leadership.

Things went so far that a miniature war broke out at the Defence Ministry between the civilian heads of departments and the military. The Minister showed himself fairly incapable of dealing with this situation.

Instead, for example, of getting Inspector General Treitner to resign, Hassel waited until Treitner gave up his post of his own accord, causing a great sensation. Luftwaffe Inspector General Panitzki also followed the same course.

Thus it was quite plain that Hassel had to give up his Bonn Ministry when six months after this general crisis Erhard's government was toppled and the Grand Coalition was formed. It was only at the last moment that Hassel again appeared on the list of ministers. After the major ministerial reshuffle the Expellees Ministry was still vacant and a Protestant North German was needed to balance the list.

Hassel headed the Expellees Ministry quite skillfully, which soon became evident, even though for a long time he could not get rid of the idea that he would have been a better Defence Minister than his predecessors Blank and Strauss or his successor Gerhard Schröder.

He aroused a certain amount of sympathy amongst the general public because after a time he himself announced that his Ministry would be superfluous when current tasks had been fulfilled. However, he



Kai-Uwe von Hassel
(Archiv/Bundesarchiv)

made sure that the closing of the Ministry, which he himself advocated, would take place in the middle of the coming legislative period and not immediately after the elections this autumn.

Since he was first elected a deputy party chairman almost thirteen years ago, Kai-

Uwe von Hassel has always been a member of the CDU leadership even despite reshuffles. And he still is today. He was originally elected as one of two Protestant deputy chairmen, and he has remained in the small circle of the CDU leadership because, almost more than anyone else, he has constantly put forward the party's views: during election campaigns he has travelled the length and breadth of the Federal Republic, and despite his dry North German manner he has also campaigned in the south.

However, this sympathy never went as far as with former Finance Minister Fritz Schäfer who for a time toyed with the idea of promoting Hassel as Adenauer's successor as Federal Chancellor.

As President of the Bundestag Hassel will have to be more reserved than perhaps he would like. But in the Grand Coalition he—certainly not a friend of the Social Democrats—has shown that he can learn to be reserved and can cooperate impartially.

Kai-Uwe von Hassel who is 55 years old (he was born on 21 April 1913 in what was then German East Africa) has now reached the zenith of a career which has brought the former colonial merchant back to Europe, into the German armed forces and after the war to the mayoralty of Glücksburg. He entered the Bundestag via local authorities and the Schleswig-Holstein state parliament, and after his time as Prime Minister was regarded as a promising young man for Bonn. He can now feel that these expectations have been fulfilled.

Hans Reiser
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 February 1969)

Number of conscientious objectors gives concern

For some time the Bundeswehr has been faced with a problem to which it did not need to pay much attention during the first ten years of its existence. The number of conscientious objectors has increased to such an extent that the Bundeswehr may be in danger.

Last year 11,000 young men submitted applications asking to be excused national service. But what makes this development threatening is that this figure included 3,000 men already in uniform far more than in the preceding ten years put together.

A limited increase in the number of conscientious objectors would not present any problem. As it is the Bundeswehr is unable to call up all those liable for military service in any one year. But the fact that more and more soldiers, having completed part of their conscription service want to get out of uniform for reasons of conscience could have serious consequences.

In the case of military units using highly complicated equipment defence preparedness can be prejudiced if only a few people drop out. In addition, discussions amongst the troops, refusal to obey orders and disciplinary measures, which are often connected with a conscientious objector's application for demobilisation, can weaken the moral and fighting spirit of whole units.

Military personnel and politicians are considering the best ways of protecting the Bundeswehr against the possibility of increasing internal unrest. Many of them obviously find it difficult to imagine why a growing number of those liable for conscription are no longer prepared to defend the Federal Republic militarily in the event of an emergency.

The chairman of the Bundestag defence committee, Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU),

talked of sabotage encouraged by external sources. There is also a widespread tendency to regard the increase in conscientious objection as mere fashionable fad.

Conscientious objectors have an easier time in the Federal Republic than in almost any other country in the world. The Federal Republic is the only nation in which the right to refuse to do military service is contained in the constitution. But the fathers of Basic Law apparently did not anticipate that trained soldiers would suddenly discover their consciences.

Thus efforts are being made to amend the relevant articles of Basic Law so that once they have donned their uniforms conscripts can no longer apply for demobilisation. But what applies to an inexperienced recruit should also apply to a soldier who has got to know the effectiveness of his weapons.

It is no use pointing out that, taken literally, Basic Law allows people to refuse to take part in war but not to refuse to do military service. The Bundeswehr cannot afford to train soldiers who would refuse to go into action, should the necessity arise.

The Bundeswehr would be helped to an extent if in future it was enabled to separate the sheep from the goats more effectively. It can be safely assumed that not all those who refuse to do military service are acting upon conscience. Many people are motivated by the desire to avoid an irksome obligation and thus gain time for vocational training.

Some Bundeswehr personnel think that the number of conscientious objectors would decrease if all those who applied for demobilisation were immediately released from the army and, without being allowed to return to civilian life, rechan-

Better service agreements for armed forces

On 5 February the Bundestag unanimously approved four Bills intended to improve the structure of the Bundeswehr and benefit soldiers financially.

● A new career structure is to be introduced for staff officers and able non-commissioned officers could be promoted to this rank. At least 9,000 men will be made staff officers and the pensionable age will be 52.

● In future sergeants and sergeant-majors will also be eligible for retirement at the age of 52. Soldiers of these ranks, who were promoted before this amendment comes into force, are to receive a single compensatory payment of 4,000 Marks when they retire at the age of 52.

● Demobilisation pay for national servicemen is to be doubled. A person who has done eighteen months military service will in future receive 700 Marks, and those with dependants one thousand Marks.

● A new age-limit of 40 is to be introduced for officers and non-commissioned officers who are jet pilots. When they retire, these pilots will receive pensions amounting to 55 per cent of their pay. The aim of this measure is to prevent jet fighter pilots from leaving the Luftwaffe earlier because of career considerations, as has happened hitherto.

● Compensation for loss of pay, paid to servicemen, is to be increased from sixty to seventy per cent of net income for single men, and from eighty to ninety per cent for married men.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 6 February 1969)

noted straight away into alternative service. Unfortunately, at present the necessary organisational prerequisites for such a plan do not exist.

But even a regulation of this kind would not eliminate the problem. There is a growing number of young men who seriously wonder whether, from a moral point of view, they can serve in the Bundeswehr. The reason for this is less likely to be external manipulation than the political dissatisfaction felt by a large section of the younger generation.

Emergency legislation has played a significant role in this development. Many conscientious objectors are frightened by the prospect that the Bundeswehr could be put into action to deal with internal disturbances.

The war in Vietnam has also added to this conflict of conscience. And finally many people feel that it is absurd that the Federal Republic should be allied with the dictatorial régime in Greece through Nato, although the alliance is supposed to preserve liberty.

These objections to serving in the Bundeswehr can be dismissed—as they are by the majority of those liable for military service—but they must be regarded realistically if one is seeking an explanation for the increasing antipathy towards the Bundeswehr.

Recently more and more young soldiers have based their applications not primarily on religious or ethical considerations but on political beliefs. By so doing, they are recalling the judgement by the Regional Administrative Court in West Berlin which recognised political convictions as justification for a decision of conscience. This tendency will probably become more marked.

The relevant civilian authorities would have to consider how, in as short a time as possible, substitute occupations for all conscientious objectors could be made available, so that the objectors would no longer have a good chance of avoiding both military service and a substitute service.

Udo Bergdoll
(DER TAGESSPiegel, 2 February 1969)

Hugo Preuss - the mastermind behind the Weimar Constitution

UNDERSTANDING THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY



At the beginning of February 1919 patriotic, liberal poets celebrated the snowy, rather quaint Athens of the river Rhine. Weimar, as the "refuge of the spirit of peace" in Germany. It was in the Weimar National Assembly that the 423 members of the German National Assembly, which had been elected on 19 January, convened to draw up a new constitution for the Reich after the Revolution of November 1918.

In the opinion of socialists, democrats and south German liberals, who held sway at the time, and more especially of the victorious powers, who had been meeting at Versailles since 18 January to decide upon a peace treaty, Berlin still lay in the shadow of Potsdam.

If the German people, at variance with itself and with the outside world, was to create a new order, then this task had to be tackled in a place which was a conscious reminder that Germans used to regard themselves more as a cultural than a political nation. So the choice of Weimar as the venue for the Assembly had considerable symbolic value.

However, there were also important practical reasons for this choice. The revolt of Communists and left-wing extremists in January 1919, which was only put down with difficulty, had demonstrated how insecure the situation in Berlin still was. It was a distinct possibility that a putsch encouraged by the Soviet Union might have led to the establishment of government by workers' councils and prevented free elections being held.

As early as 16 November 1918 the Council of People's Representatives had appointed 58-year-old Dr Hugo Preuss, a professor at the Berlin college of commerce, as state secretary to the Reich Ministry of the Interior and instructed him to draft a new constitution. Preuss had been a constitutional lawyer from the start of his career and was a lecturer at Berlin University for a long time.

He only received a professorship shortly before the war at the college of commerce founded by senior members of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce. He personally thought this was because he was a Jew. However, his very critical attitude to the existing government may well have been the real reason why he was not appointed to a professorial chair earlier.

Hugo Preuss was a great admirer of Freiherr von Stein, the administrative reformer of Prussia in the Napoleonic era who laid the groundwork for modern government, and had written a profound study on this subject. However, like so many German liberals, Preuss made the mistake of regarding Karl von Stein with his aristocratic liberalism as a kind of original democrat, though Preuss would have reacted to this contention with a frightening fit of anger.

But in another respect Preuss' interpretation of Stein was correct. Stein supported pan-German reform of the Reich territory, which did away with princes and particularism completely.

If Hugo Preuss had originally believed that parliamentary reform of the Reich could be carried out whilst maintaining the monarchic figurehead, then the lamentable disappearance of the Hohenzollerns taught him otherwise.

He devoted much thorough consideration to the distribution of emphases in a

future republic. He thought it was necessary to strengthen the central power of the Reich and to completely reorganise the Reich territories beyond the old dynastic frontiers.

In his first draft constitution he proposed that Prussia, which seemed to have lost its significance with the demise of the Kaiser, should be divided up into fourteen "Reich provinces" with a republican constitution. These included German-Austria and "German-Bohemia." But this plan was rejected by the People's Representatives.

Bavaria could certainly not have been won over to support such reforms. And the idea of creating a "Rhenish" or "Rhenish-Westphalian Republic" within the Reich by dissolving Prussia aroused fears that a free state of this kind might pursue utterly independent paths due to pressure and enticements from France.

Basing his ideas on American, French and Swiss examples, Preuss hoped to establish the unrestricted supremacy of the Reichstag without dividing up responsibilities, strong government leadership and a Reich president who, in the event of an emergency, would be granted absolute powers. In addition Preuss' plan involved principles of direct democracy as corrective mechanisms. The Reich president was to be elected, and referendums could be held on questions of national importance.

Liberal member of the middle class

By inclination and origins Preuss was a definitely liberal member of the educated, prosperous middle class and was not favourably disposed towards Socialism. His ideas were based on the neat assumption that the turning-point of 1918-1919 was the finest hour of the German middle class which had previously always displayed a lamentable weakness, not to say lack of courage, and had never proved capable of developing a genuine "people's republic" out of the dynastic, feudal and authoritarian state.

But to later generations it seems almost disgusting that the creator of the constitution was unable to assure a mandate for the newly-founded Democratic Party in the National Assembly. The Frankfurt Assembly of 1848-49, which determined the first constitution of the German Reich, had presented a dazzling picture of German intellectualism and a pitiable picture of national political ineptitude.

The Weimar National Assembly presented a much improved image. It included enough experienced members from the

pre-war Reichstag. The president was the last president of the Kaiser's Reichstag, Constantin Fehrenbach, a Freiburg lawyer and an experienced Catholic, liberal parliamentary expert.

For the first time representatives of the workers' parties, who during the Kaiser period had been banished to the primary-school benches of permanent opposition, participated in government as had long been their due. And also for the first time women were elected to parliament, which caused a sensation in the press. This was the inevitable result of the important part played by women in the manufacturing and service industries during the war.

The most important political parties represented in the National Assembly were the Social Democratic Party (SPD) with 163 seats, the Independent Socialist Party (USPD) with 22 seats, the Democratic Party with 75 seats and the Centre Party with 91 seats.

The Democratic Party was a meeting-point of former liberals, progressives and free-thinkers. Because Gustav Stresemann, spokesman of the former National Liberals and later the leading statesman of the Weimar Republic, was refused admittance to the Democratic Party on account of his extreme imperialist policies during the war, he formed his own party, the German People's Party which gained 22 seats.

Former conservatives and free conservatives had completely changed face; having joined forces with several right-wing National Liberals to form the German National People's Party, they managed to win 42 mandates. Even the traditional Centre Party decided to call themselves a people's party.

The conditions under which the National Assembly convened were gloomy. The People's Representatives had entrusted the military protection of Weimar to the best disciplined volunteer corps available: the Volunteer Fusilier Corps under Major General Ludwig Maercker.

The chairman of the soldiers' council in Weimar refused the Corps' billeting of officers into the headquarters of the soldiers' council. The council had positioned two heavy machine-guns and declared that it would only give way under force. The fusiliers overturned the machine-guns and moved in. This pacified Weimar.

But the Volunteer Fusilier Corps soon had to go into action outside Weimar to suppress bolshevist uprisings in favour of government by workers' councils in Gotha and Halle. Two days before the opening



Hugo Preuss (Photos: Ullstein, Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Bildarchiv [Händel])

of the National Assembly, Bremen had to be liberated from "proletarian dictatorship" by a brigade of infantrymen and a marine brigade so as to bring the port, which was important for food supplies, under government control again.

On 8 February 1919 in Spa, where only the previous November the Kaiser and senior army command had held court, an agreement was reached with some difficulty ensuring further deliveries of foodstuffs against payment.

In negotiations with the Allied High Command in Trier between 14 and 16 February 1919, the German representatives secured a brief, unspecified extension of the armistice declared on 11 November 1918. The Allies reserved the right to give a three-day period of notice.

Whilst discussions were held in Weimar on the inner-German Magna Carta, negotiations to which Germany was not a party were conducted at Versailles on the external-German Magna Carta - which was to affect 65 million Germans.

Despite the dismal circumstances the National Assembly, in which the SPD, the Democrats and the Centre Party soon formed a grand coalition, achieved some beneficial parliamentary work right from the start, displaying unflinching zeal. On 11 February 1919 the Assembly set about electing the first president of the Reich in German history.

Friedrich Ebert received 277 votes and was duly elected. Previously, Ebert had been chairman of the Council of People's Representatives and was by profession, as he proclaimed with pride, a soldier, the first representative of German workers to head the German Reich.

According to the system envisaged by Hugo Preuss, Ebert appointed the first "Reich Ministry", with Philipp Scheidemann as the first and only "Minister President of the Reich" and Hugo Preuss as Minister of the Interior. The basis of the government was the Weimar coalition of reformed socialists, Catholics and Democrats.

On 21 February 1919 the National Assembly unanimously approved a motion introduced by all parties confirming the inclusion of the Austro-German republic in the German Republic. On 25 February a law was passed on the establishment of a "temporary Reich army" to bring the numerous volunteer corps under control and to provide the Reich with a unified armed force. The act envisaged a volunteer army of 400,000 soldiers with aeroplanes, heavy artillery and tanks. Gustav Noske was appointed the first, provisional Minister of the Reich Army.

On 24 February deliberations began on the draft of the Prussian constitution.

Continued on page 5

LABOUR Full employment and stable prices



Full employment and stable prices in perpetuity - this is the dream of all modern politicians involved with the economy, and it will continue to be so because it is an unobtainable aim. Politicians constantly give the impression that this objective certainly could be attained if only the right levers were pulled in Bonn.

In reality, the economy is and always was subject to cycles. Of course, theebb and flow of economic activity can, and must, be regulated but in essence it remains unaltered. Thus price stability and full employment generally only occur at the beginning of an economic upswing.

In this respect 1968 was a fortunate year, a rare divine gift. Price stability was maintained because of the psychological after effects of the recession; considerable stimulation of the economy was due to economic encouragement by the state and to the autonomous boosting effects of the economy. But this ideal situation cannot last forever.

The cyclic economic periods, which last about four or five years, follow roughly the same pattern. Economic activity increases leading to full employment, then over employment and finally the economy becomes overheated. General price increases result, and the stability of the Mark is endangered; the Bundesbank intervenes, removing liquid resources from economic circulation. Economic activity is slowed down; prices are no longer put up or are reduced. All is quiet on the wages front, but eventually unemployment reaches a level which obliges the government to stimulate the economy. And the whole cycle begins again.

This acceleration and braking, this stop-go policy, may be unsatisfactory; it demonstrates the limited possibilities of guiding and intervening in the economy. In any case, this stop-go policy must be

pursued with care. Fear is a treacherous adviser in this situation.

Anyone who wants to give the economy a second or third boost immediately after the first boost because its effectiveness cannot be recognised straight away - which is only natural - is in danger of over-stimulating the economy with the result that the painful braking mechanisms have to be introduced in quick succession.

This is why the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has always supported minimum economic stimulation. This newspaper would have liked to see a continuation of the economic situation prevalent last year for quite some time.

Now, we are in the middle of the boom (which never means that anyone does fantastic business). In fact, we have probably already reached the stage of over-activity. A shortage of labour is always the first warning signal. The labour market has been uniked dry.

Still plenty of jobs unfilled

The ratio of unemployed persons to vacant jobs is not far removed from the 1961 situation, another period of excessive activity. Newspapers have hardly enough room for all the job advertisements. The demand for employees is so great that the fact that some firms have been increasing staff after the recession must also be taken into account.

The old adage has again proved correct: anyone who can afford it should stick up during a crisis. Now every employable man is in demand. This will all be familiar to anyone who has lived through the last two decades.

When labour is in short supply, then wages automatically go up. The Federal government's annual report estimates that wages will increase in 1969 by between 5.5 and 6.5 per cent and actual wages are expected to go up by seven per cent.

And, as usual, prices will rise simultaneously, especially as a tendency to

wards price increases was clearly visible at the end of 1968. The annual report only anticipates price increases of two per cent. Minister Schiller has explicitly stated that these increases would be caused more by administrative and technical factors than by economic considerations. One can but hope that this optimism will not only be nourished by electoral considerations.

Walter Hesselbach, chairman of the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft (Bank for Social Economy) formed by trade unions and consumer cooperatives in 1959, whose political views have much in common with Minister Schiller, fears that price increases will be higher and recommends that means of tapping off excess liquid resources should be considered now. Otherwise the Bundesbank will again have to intervene too late and too harshly.

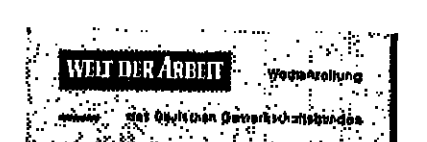
This is exactly the problem. The prognosis of an economics institute, which anticipates that the economy will fall off markedly during the second half of 1969 seems to be utterly false, according to what can be heard in industry.

Unfortunately, experience indicates that politicians only talk about price stability in Sunday sermons, while full employment - even increasing over employment - is the stuff of practical politics. But every nation is the product of its experiences. This country has unpleasant memories of inflation and reacts sensitively against currency depreciation.

Decisive action - not only in words but also in deeds - to stabilise the Mark would probably be a much more effective electoral gambit than party hacks assume. In this respect, the population is certainly attentive and votes exactly, indeed suspiciously, all statements and measures concerned with currency stability.

Jürgen Eich Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (in Deutschland, 1 February 1969)

Long-term social welfare planning



For the first time the Social Welfare Budget, which has just been approved by the Federal Cabinet, provides a long-term preview of income and expenditure on social welfare until 1972. On an international level no similarly detailed advance calculations are known, which could have served as a model.

The Social Welfare Budget is certainly not a preview based on wishful thinking. On the contrary it fits in with the overall economic aims and the Federal government's long-term financial planning. This realistic document, firmly embedded in the total economic context, is intended to give politicians a clearer picture of the possibilities and limitations of the future progress of social welfare policy, and to give them in advance an idea of tensions and false developments which may arise and of the possible financial scope for social security.

The figures of the 1968 Social Welfare Budget correct some exaggerated ideas about further increases in social benefits. Up until 1972 the extent of benefits is hardly likely to increase more than the national product. In the next four years the total volume of social welfare expenditure will only go up half as fast as in previous years.

Monthly pay for 500,000 public service workers

The trade union for public service and transport employees (ÖTV) has achieved a breakthrough in labour policy. A monthly wages system is to be introduced for the 500,000 public service employees. This point was particularly vehemently argued during negotiations. The new wages system has yet to be worked out. It is not known what extra costs will finally devolve upon the government. Federal states and local authorities.

Private enterprise views this development with understandable doubts. Sooner or later the example of the public services will be imitated. However, particularly in the middle ranks, there must be quite a number of wage-earners who would not like to step into the shoes of a lower- or middle-ranking public service salary-earner. Because of overtime and piecework their annual income is higher than that of salary-earners. They are hardly likely to support a monthly wages system.

However, the work done by the public services cannot be compared with private industry. Garbage must be regularly collected; in snow and ice automobiles must be quickly cleared under difficult conditions.

People must be available the whole year round to carry out this work. The costs of services in a highly industrialised society are disproportionately high. The economy must be adapted to this fact.

Up to now the authorities have managed to keep workers by introducing numerous stop-gap measures and special wages agreements for public service employees. This is an expensive system and a system which does not exclude the possibility of injustices. All this should and must be eliminated in the new wages system.

Klaus Stoll-Aureoler, 30 January 1969

Appl. 1.1.50

EDUCATION

Teachers appeal for democratisation in schools

AGE-LIMIT ON TEACHING STAFF SHOULD BE LIFTED

Since February 1967 school children in the Federal Republic have claimed that they are a disproportionately under-represented, oppressed group dependent on bodies which are not democratically controlled. In pamphlets and at pupils' conferences they complain of their dependence on schools which do not embody the spirit of democracy.

They are vociferously demanding a change in current circumstances under the slogan "Democratisation of Schools." In concrete terms, they want far-reaching rights in participation in virtually all matters affecting schools. Above all they want to be consulted and have a say in decisions concerning timetables, the selection of textbooks and scholastic matters such as marks, reports, moving up classes and examinations.

They want to choose their teachers themselves and checkily demand the right to strike as a means of resisting "undemocratic" measures initiated by the school authorities. They do not know what they are talking about.

Should intermediate school pupils be able to decide whether they have more English lessons or more gymnastics classes? Should secondary school pupils be allowed to decide whether they study Kant or Kinsley? How can a school-child judge which grammar book should be used for Latin lessons when he does not know any Latin? And would injustices really be eliminated if the class decided what marks individual pupils should receive?

If the pupils' demands were granted, then school gates would be opened wide to arbitrariness and manipulation. If everyone at a school discussed and co-determined decisions, then the very situation which democratisation is intended to prevent would arise: total dependence of pupils on largely fortuitous and arbitrary decisions.

However, teachers have now joined in the appeals for democratisation of schools. Their spokesmen are members of the trade union for teachers and academic staff (GEW), which until last summer was generally regarded as a relatively peaceful union belonging to the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB).

However, since last June when Erich Frister, Social Democratic education councillor for the West Berlin district



Erich Frister
(Photo: Klaus Eschen)

came as a surprise, therefore, that the young trade union teachers in West Berlin demanded "fundamental reorganisation of teachers' status as officials" as one of the prerequisites for the desired democratisation.

The justification for this demand is that the existing official status of teachers, based on concepts of public service and loyalty, goes back to the fundamentals of officials' rights and duties in the nineteenth century, and is therefore outdated.

The young teachers feel that their demands are not only appropriate at the present time but also absolutely essential. These demands include removing the catalogue of duties from the laws governing officials, eliminating disciplinary regulations, doing away with restrictions on officials' political activities and giving legal backing to teachers' right to strike.

But at the same time the young teachers also want more money. Teachers should not be included in the salary system for administrative officials; their salaries should be on a par with those paid to employees of comparable social standing. However, the trade union teachers said nothing about renouncing their officials' pensions in return for a new pay structure.

However, they stated quite clearly that they did not want to implement the right to strike in order to further financial demands, but regarded strikes as a "legitimate instrument in the debate on educational questions."

It would seem that, at least at first, democratisation means improving one's own position. If the teachers were able to carry through their demands, then pupils would be the ones to suffer.

Pupils would not learn anything if the teaching staff were on strike, or if the Latin master cancelled his lessons as a militant measure. They would gain nothing if their teachers took part in demonstrations, gave electoral speeches for a political party or used physics lessons to explain methods of protecting oneself against water canons or policemen's rubber truncheons instead of elucidating the Faraday effect.

Hence, even within the GEW the young teachers' demands are disputed. Level-headed educationalists point out that such radical demands only hamper, if not prevent, the elimination of genuine inadequacies in the school system. They plead for reforms instead of revolution, and reform of the education system is certainly overdue.

It is obvious that schools in a democratic state must differ from those in an authoritarian country. But the

school system in the Federal Republic still clings to ideas which are incompatible with a democratic state. Some examples can be cited.

Even today the headmaster of a school is appointed by the local authorities. The teaching staff has no opportunity to make its wishes known when it comes to the choice of their new boss. The headmaster is the teachers' superior in the real sense of the word, and some headmasters "rule" their schools like petty princes.

The teacher, as a subordinate teaching official, is expected to encourage his pupils to respect and defend democratic freedom, whilst democratic freedom remains a theoretical phenomenon in his everyday professional life.

He is trapped by a hierarchy, which finds its external expression in dusty titles and is dependent on education authorities who are often more interested in bureaucracy than in democracy. The supervised teacher in a supervised school is hardly in a position to convince his pupils of the values of democracy as a way of life.

At the young teachers' conference in West Berlin, GEW chairman Erich Frister put forward several suggestions which are worth considering and discussing. He would like to see the independent and cooperative responsibility of teachers strengthened by making schools, instead of local authorities, responsible for certain decisions; moreover, parents and pupils—the latter according to their maturity—would participate in decision-making.

"The chairman of the teaching staff—that is the headmaster—should be elected for a limited period by the members of staff. Official titles within schools and of supervisory staff should be abolished except for the professional designation 'teacher.'"

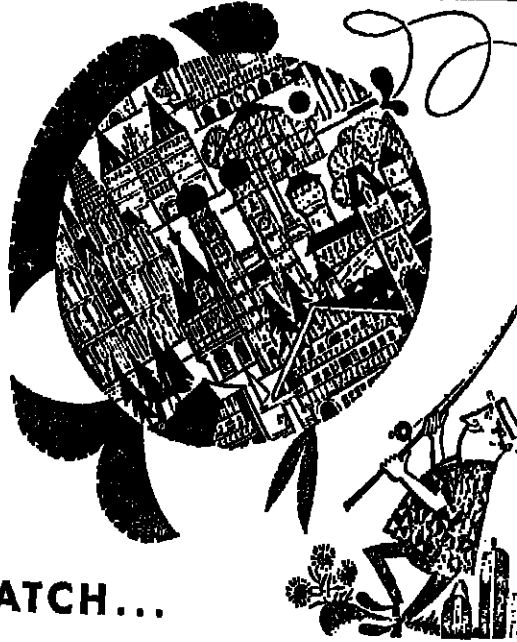
Frister would like school supervision to be carried out by teams of teachers appointed for limited periods for this purpose, and grouped according to their expertise. Supervisors should be more than advisors; they should function as overseers and should be responsible for complaints and disciplinary matters.

The staff quota at schools of the same size should be governed by the same key numbers, said Frister. But the individual work load of teachers should be determined by staff decisions. Funds should be granted to schools in a lump sum and should, to a large extent, be spent in accordance with decisions reached by the staff.

Finally, Frister's suggestion that the age-limit on teachers should be lifted seems sensible. "Teachers who are no longer capable of meeting the physical, psychological and intellectual demands of their profession should be retired early, taking into account all legal procedures in this respect. However, until they reach the age of 62 they are bound to take up another suitable post either inside or outside the public services."

It will be interesting to see what course the teachers' union pursues in future. This will depend on which faction gains the upper hand: the moderate group who want reforms, or the revolutionary young teachers whose chairman demanded in West Berlin "the renunciation of the traditional partnership ideology, reforming educational theory and of indoctrinating chauvinistic democracy and legalisation of social conflicts in all educational institutions and in their administrative bodies." Class warfare in the classroom, so to speak.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 January 1969)



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GT

MEDICINE

Surgical breakthrough for curvature of the spine

Spannweite der Allg. Ztg.

ZEITUNG

Gradual curvature of the spine, generally known as Bechterew's disease, is one of those illnesses which not only affect working capacity but also cause considerable distress. By means of an operation it is now possible to correct this painful defect, and patients can return to normal life and go back to work.

Professor Herbert Junghans, senior doctor at the surgical clinic of the Frankfurt casualty hospital and director of the Institute for Spinal Research attached to the hospital, recently reported in the *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* on an operation which he described as "one of the most dramatic operations on the sustentacular and kinetic apparatus since the Second World War."

Anyone who has ever known a person with chronic curvature of the spine, who has not had the slightest hope of successful treatment up to now, it certainly bound to regard this new operation as a major breakthrough in surgical treatment.

Even if acutely painful relapses no longer occur, that is when Bechterew's disease has reached its final stage, the patient still suffers from numerous discomforts which affect his whole well-being.

Because of the stiffened spine which curves forwards to a considerable extent, the organs in the thoracic and abdominal cavities cannot function properly. Professor Junghans comments: "The additional ossification of the costal and spinal joints hampers chest breathing." Since almost all patients with curvature of the spine can only look straight downwards, they are often completely helpless in life.

This disease, which takes its name from the famous Russian neurologist Vladimir Bechterew, occurs far more frequently than is generally assumed. It begins with chronic inflammation of the vertebral joints and strangely enough it is almost exclusively men who are affected. Virtually nothing is known about the origins of the disease, though a good deal is known about its development.

The progressive onset of the disease, which advances in stages, finally leads to stiffening of the spinal column, and as yet there is no possibility of halting this process except through surgical treatment. When this process has been completed, the pain has gradually abated and the patient is faced with permanent deformity, he has often reached an age when it is impossible to operate for all sorts of reasons.

Professor Junghans has drawn the appropriate conclusions from these facts. The corrective operation "can be carried out during the inactive, painless phase as well as during the painful stage." He recommends surgical treatment particularly for young patients since they can be helped to improve or regain their working ability.

One in five students are psychically disturbed

Approximately one in five students in the Federal Republic suffers from psychic disorders, estimates H. Ziolk, director of the student advisory centre at the Psychiatric Hospital of the Free University, West Berlin.

The student's complaint used to be called "moon's disease" and involves difficulties in concentrating and remembering things and a feeling of depression and weariness. Often sexual disturbances occur, as well as headaches and eye complaints.

Ziolk described one case he had come across: because he got cramp in his hands, a music student changed from the piano to the horn, whereupon he suffered from a lip complaint. When he switched to theory of music, he experienced difficulties in learning.

In Ziolk's opinion, girls are more likely

to be affected by these symptoms than male students, and arts students are more prone to them than, for example, agriculturalists. (Only 37 per cent of arts students finish their courses, whereas virtually one hundred per cent of agriculture students do so.)

Problems arise, in particular, if a student completes more than fifteen semesters at a university. The susceptibility of students to psychological disorders has not been fully explained. Ziolk does not think that the pressures of studying provide an adequate explanation for the illnesses.

The best means of treatment, psychotherapy, can be applied in the most unusual cases. But treatment is expensive and takes a long time, and there are not enough qualified psychotherapists.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 January 1969)

hans prescribes physiotherapy after the operation. This consists of breathing exercises, cautious swimming movements and systematic training of the abdominal, arm and leg muscles.

Following the operation the patient need not stay in hospital for more than six to eight weeks. After this period of convalescence, Junghans said patients quickly regain confidence in the "charge maximum of the spinal column," which is permanently stabilised by the metal plate.

But straightening the spinal column is not the only purpose of this operation. If when the patient leaves hospital his posture is virtually normal, then his breathing will have improved considerably and the organs contained in the abdominal cavity will again function properly because the restricting pressure of his crippled posture has been removed.

Professor Junghans aptly describes the most impressive result of the operation thus: "The patient's psychic troubles, particularly noticeable before the operation disappear, one of the reasons being that he can again look straight ahead and hence is better able to cope with daily life, work and traffic."

The great advantage of this surgical procedure, as developed by Professor Junghans, is that long periods of immobilisation in plaster of Paris, which patients usually find trying, are not necessary. Wearing a surgical corset, which requires a good deal of patience on the part of the patient, is also superfluous.

It is true that the spinal column is still stiff—but the patient is once again able to look around in an upright position. Probably only someone who has had to spend years looking at the world from a worm's-eye view would be able to appreciate the significance of this advance.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28 January 1969)

A world of insomniacs

People who can sleep soundly are becoming more and more rare. But this does not only apply to older people; twelve per cent of the under thirty age-group already suffer from disturbed sleep and this figure is increasing, according to Dr Fritz Pensek (Coburg).

This widespread insomnia, which is causing doctors great concern, can often be overcome simply by eliminating optical and acoustic disturbances, which are particularly likely to affect the sleep of city-dwellers. Eyeshades and a little waxed cotton wool in the ears can often do the trick.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 January 1969)

Further developments in diabetic treatment

At the International Diabetes Conference in Stockholm in 1967, two prominent experts on metabolism reported on the preliminary results of pharmacological and clinical tests on a new compound to reduce the level of blood sugar.

A few days later the pharmaceutical firms Hoechst and Böhringer-Mannheim considerably toned down accurate press reports of the researchers' findings. In January, only eighteen months later—the two firms invited more than two hundred scientists from 27 countries to a conference in Tübingen to launch the new product "Glybenclamid", having evaluated the results of world-wide tests.

Thus, in a short time many diabetics will be able to use a preparation which, under the formula IB 419, has been investigated by leading medical researchers and metabolic experts for many years.

Numerous experiments on animals preceded tests on more than five thousand diabetics. About half the diabetics were treated with this medicine for more than six months, and 603 patients for over a year. The conclusion reached by research-

ers was unambiguous: IB 419 is an extremely effective anti-diabetic compound which can be taken orally and has no side-effects.

This should be qualified straight away: IB 419 can only be used by adult diabetics whose intervertebral coll-lesels still function to some extent. Young people suffering from the usual form of diabetes caused by insulin deficiencies cannot be treated with Glybenclamid.

This means that this group of diabetics will still have to undergo daily insulin injections. But many adult diabetics, who have been treated with insulin up to now, will not need to have injections in future, thanks to Glybenclamid. Older people will gain considerable advantages from using this oral medicine. Previously, poor sight, shaky hands, the decay of fat tissue, and ineptitude or fear of injections have made insulin treatment difficult.

The question of whether Glybenclamid improves the prospects of successful treatment for adult diabetics must be answered in the affirmative in view of the fact that older patients, who have previously been treated with insulin or other medicines designed to reduce the blood sugar content, can be more effectively treated without incurring the risk of toxic side-effects.

Professor H. Mehnert, head of the clinical experiments department of the Diabetes Research Group in Munich and senior doctor at the Munich-Schwabing hospital, treated three hundred patients with IB 419 at the hospital during a period of eighteen months.

On the basis of his experiences, this medicine can be regarded as the most effective compound at present available for reducing the blood sugar content; it encourages the body's production of insulin, is non-toxic and easily absorbed.

Professor Mehnert was able to transfer 97 of 107 patients, who had previously taken insulin, to Glybenclamid. In an in-

terview, he said that there were no indications of damage to the liver or kidneys or that the production of blood, circulation or breathing were disadvantageously affected.

None of the three hundred patients complained of disturbances in the gastrointestinal tract or of skin reactions. Professor Mehnert said it was particularly noteworthy that very very small doses of Glybenclamid, compared with other similar medicines, were sufficient to produce the desired effect. This view, with very insignificant variations, is shared by all the researchers who are of international standing.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28 January 1969)

Epilepsy research centre at Bethel

A research centre for epilepsy is to be established at the Bodenschwinger Institute in Bethel. The Institute's new director, Pastor Alex Funke, recently told the press that the Max Planck Society and the Volkswagen Foundation would finance the centre where research would be carried out into the causes of epilepsy.

Biochemical experiments on animals have been underway for a year now. In addition there is talk of setting up an outpatients' department in Bethel, which would be staffed by local doctors, and of opening a rehabilitation centre for epileptics.

In the opinion of Dr Rudolf Dreyer, the head of the Bethel Epilepsy Hospital, seventy to eighty per cent of epileptics could be treated as outpatients. It would be possible to prevent the vast majority of them from having attacks and they could also return to work.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 January 1969)

Spitzenliste

THE ECONOMY

Karl Schiller must be loyal to the principles he has supported

One brief glance into the coffers suffices to confirm the news of top-gear activity, if not economic boom. Prices are climbing at a brisk rate, and this generally happens only in times of boom.

Another brief glance at the newspapers suffices to show that the very welcome figures pointing to full employment are coming dangerously close to overemployment. The public is becoming aware of this, it is also reasoning more simply and rationally than many professional economists.

Minister of Economic Affairs Karl Schiller has been presented with the results of a survey of the Ifo Institute in Munich stating that a stagnation or even a recession can be expected next autumn. Instinctively one's reaction is to shake one's head. The export measures approved by the government last November, providing for an export tax of four per cent and a reduction of the price of imports also of four per cent, were thought by these Ifo prophets to be underestimat-



ed. It now seems that they may have been overestimated.

A sensible manager, who does not happen to be fighting for his life in an all-glass sector of industry, will not admit in official surveys, but will do so to himself, that the four-per-cent tax can be digested without the slightest difficulty whatever. Let us not lose ourselves, however, in such details.

There are other worries, namely, the nagging thought that we could lose control over the tempo of dynamic increase in activity, especially as everything, including the "early indications" such as the order position, which the survey organisations consider very important, points to a steady increase in the growth

rate. We share Bundesbank president Karl Blessing's fears.

The growth rate must not be accelerated dangerously. Certain brakes must be applied in order that prices can again be controlled.

Professor Karl Schiller, who was so successful in overcoming the recession by applying Keynesian principles that the deservingly popular acclaim that came his way, should not be too self-confident about his ability to keep the present trend neatly under supervision. It would seem at times that he is running the risk of being gravely disappointed.

The economy is in danger when an annual price increase of two to two and a half per cent is incorporated into the government's objectives and minimised accordingly. Remember? All this happened once before.

Did Karl Schiller overlook the first page of his Ministry's report stating that the cost of living price index in December 1968 was 2.7 per cent higher than in the same month the previous year? As in former years, the Bundesbank must be praised for taking an independent stand and raising a warning hand.

This warning cannot be minimised by Professor Schiller when he endeavours to play down the importance of stability by saying that it represents only 25 per cent of the Federal government's economic aims. As if that all-important rectangle, full-employment: prices: balance of payments: expansion, were possible without the foundation of a healthy currency!

Whatever balance of power exists in the coalition government, the impression is given that Chancellor Kiesinger's Cabinet, obsessed with the task of presenting the summiting of the recession as its one real accomplishment, besides putting the nation's finances in order, is over-doing things a bit. One striking difference between Herr Kiesinger's government and that of Konrad Adenauer or Ludwig Erhard is that Herr Kiesinger has at his disposal the Economic Stabilisation Act.

With the stroke of a pen the Chancellor can accomplish what former governments secured only after much coaxing and wheedling, and the assurance of a long list of concessions. The point here is that the task prescribed by this Act involves

not only a guarantee of expansion but also of price stability.

Every government which wants to keep the economy on course—and the steering procedures are easier the earlier the mistakes are recognised—must hold in readiness economic programmes that can be applied in times of recession or boom. In the opinion of this column an opportune, gentle alteration of course seems appropriate to avoid having to order a severe alteration later on—but an alteration against the mounting waves of the boom not against the dull wake of the recession.

If the experts cannot agree on this, one can only wonder where the value of economic diagnoses, prognoses, objectives, medium-term finance programmes and similar schemes really lies.

Professor Schiller had a sensible aim in mind—expansion in moderation. This he now seems to be losing along the way. Is he losing it because this is election year? The collapse for Ludwig Erhard's Cabinet should be taken as a pretext to reflect upon what the electorate really rewards.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 January 1969)

Karl Blessing gives views on currency measures

No one can say with certainty what retarding effects the "substitute revaluation" of the Mark has had. The government's present policy will be continued for a time, since surplus liquidity has at least been removed," observed Karl Blessing, president of the Deutsche Bundesbank, at a ceremony marking the 100th anniversary of the Oldenburg Landbank.

Herr Blessing continued, "If it became clear that prices cannot be contained the Bundesbank would not hesitate to impose credit restrictions." The Bundesbank president also said that if prices got out of control the Federal government would take the appropriate monetary measures.

The Bundesbank believes that nothing more should be done to stimulate the economy. The export tax will probably not result in a setback, rather in a reduction of the economic growth rate. Compared with last year the foreign trade surplus may be a few thousand million Marks lower, said Karl Blessing.

The decline in demand following the measures taken by the government is not unwelcome, according to the Bundesbank president. He would dampen the upward trend in overall demand in the interest of price stability.

Should the threat of a serious setback in the economy loom large, banking measures could always be taken. At the present time, however, there is no reason to fear this, said Herr Blessing.

Along with Minister of Economic Affairs Karl Schiller, banker Hermann Josef Abs and president of the Federal Republic Confederation of Industry, Fritz Berg, Herr Blessing favours long-term capital exports to counter inflationary imports. Industry should promote more direct foreign investments and holdings in foreign enterprises. Adequate tax concessions should be granted for this purpose.

Herr Blessing disapproves of a revision of international exchange rates. If such a revision were made, it should be founded on firm assurances to maintain currency discipline. There is no sense in revising the exchange rates if governments persist in tolerating inflationary trends.

"I favour a system of firm exchange rates because such a system best serves the international flow of goods and capital," said the Bundesbank president. He also disapproved of suggestions to hold a currency summit conference, arguing that this would only be grist to the mills of further speculation.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 January 1969)

PRODUCTION

Brewers find themselves in an economic free for all



Experts who two years ago told brewers that their price war, especially in bottles, was only preparing the ground for vital concentration of resources via insolvency are being proven right. The fact that many breweries have escaped the worst is due in many cases to plain good fortune rather than to brilliant management.

When beer prices threatened to slip to an indefensibly low level, especially in North Rhine-Westphalia and to some extent in the south-west, the price of raw material sank with them. Brewers who had long-term contracts for hops at 400 Marks a hundredweight were annoyed to find the same quality on the market going at 250 Marks a hundredweight. The extent of the decline can best be gauged by a comparison with top prices of up to 1,600 Marks that were being paid for hops not many years back.

The drop in the price of hops does not explain everything, however. Besides, hops' share of raw material costs averages 200 grammes per hectolitre, which is relatively small. Nevertheless, in a large brewery with an output of two million hectolitres the bill for hops comes to about one million Marks.

Another factor is the drop in the price of barley. The average in 1968-69 was

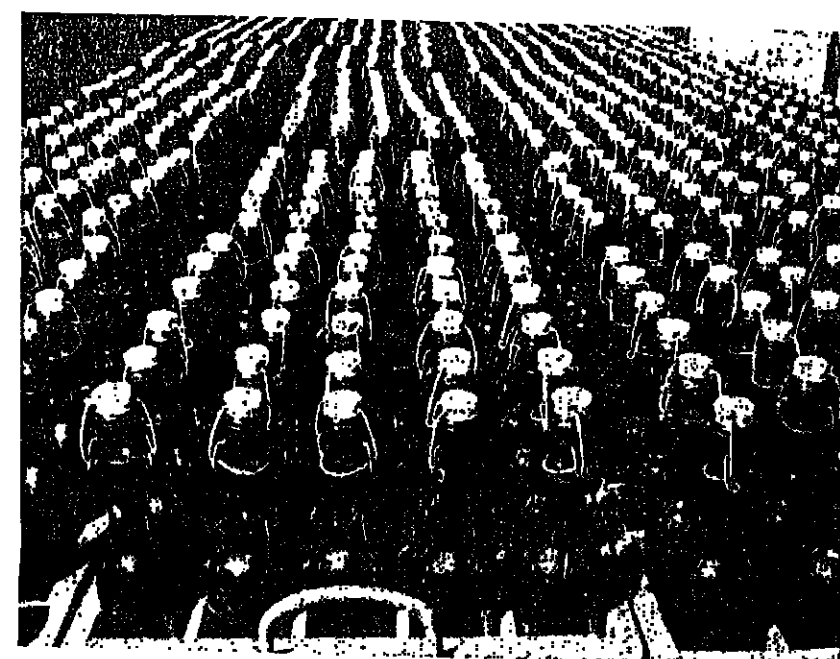
423 Marks a ton. Following standardising of cereal prices in the Common Market the price of a ton fell to 370 Marks in the following season.

Market exports are reluctant to admit today that a ton of barley can be bought for 340 Marks. Since about 25 kilogrammes are needed for one hectolitre of beer, this represents a costs gain of 1.50 Marks per hectolitre.

This will hardly remain so for long. These dream prices are being threatened from two sides: by quality, and the government's measures to improve the balance of trade. The trading organisations put the bite on the brewer, he puts the bite on the malster and he on the farmer.

Pressure on buying prices frequently results in pressure on quality. Many sober-headed brewers are worried about their market which reacts to nothing more sensitively than to a decline in quality. The first demands for better malt are being heard. The quality of the barley determines the value of the beer. The conclusion is that the price of barley could very soon take a jump.

The new measures taken by the government do not improve the brewing industry's position. Exports of malt and barley are subject to the full four per cent export tax, and no concessions are given for imports of raw material. That this is a severe drawback is obvious from the fact that raw material accounts for sixty per cent of imports. This is of course a golden opportunity for Federal Republic



Annually millions of bottles of beer satisfy people's thirst

(Photo: Cont-Press)

suppliers. Their prices are bound to be lower.

Higher costs are also threatened from other sides. The trade unions are putting through high wage claims. The costs margin is further strained by the conveyance tax, since breweries are very dependent on inter-plant transportation. Beyond a radius of fifty kilometres the state demands its toll.

It remains to be seen how the conveyance tax will affect competition. This will become acute when surplus quantities of beer are dumped on neighbouring markets at cut-rate prices.

The brewers are not the only people keeping the market simmering. Discount shops, chain stores and cash-and-carry centres have in many cases made a decoy of beer prices. Sales department managers of breweries are constantly on the line to customers demanding the same conditions as are granted to the discount shop next-door.

The flux of trade, however, is deceptive. These price-cutting organisations are very rarely privileged with special conditions. Indeed, such shops often prop their beer prices out of their own tills to give their customers the impression that their prices are competitive all round.

The law can hardly put its finger on these traders. The law against manipulating the regulations governing competition prescribes no action against price undercutting.

Speaking of competition brings up the subject of surplus capacity. This alone seems to be responsible for price warfare. Surplus capacity prevents greater output. Goods that are thrown away at dumping prices destroy themselves in the long run. The result is stagnating profits.

Beer production last year increased by 1.9 per cent to 79 million hectolitres.

Trade with Red China goes up once again

This country was again last year the People's Republic of China's second largest trading partner. The volume of trade was worth 1,000 million Marks, slightly less than the previous record year.

This came as a surprise to many experts since few major transactions were reported in the last twelve months. In comparison, 1967 many large-plant deals were put through. Japan was still Red China's principal trading partner with trade valued at 2,000 million Marks. The steel and the chemical industries largely account for the Federal Republic's good results last year.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 January 1969)

Most shareholders in joint-stock companies among brewing enterprises will be content, however, if the same dividends as last year are paid out.

The brewing industry lacks sensible restraints, but that is not all it lacks. The lack of healthy "egoism" in this sector is inconceivable. How can one otherwise explain that breweries have so far failed to launch effective communal advertising?

(Die Welt, 29 January 1969)

Fewer second-hand car sales

Used car sales dropped 35 per cent last year. Sales of new cars rose 5.4 per cent, according to the trade's central organisation in Frankfurt.

The organisation says that the decline in used car sales is largely due to the added value tax introduced in January 1968. Fears of such a decline entertained on the announcement of the added value tax were afterwards confirmed.

(Die Welt, 24 January 1969)

BMW plans increased sales targets

After the good market record of recent years Bayerische Motoren Werke (BMW) in Munich have set themselves a sales target this year of 1.4 to 1.5 thousand million Marks. Turnover last year was over 1,000 million Marks.

Another target is a five to six per cent cut of the market, and a third that by 1971 returns will top the 2,000 million mark.

Daily output of 750 vehicles until 1971 is nowhere near the final figure envisaged. Latest estimates suggest that an average 1,000 vehicles daily may be possible by 1974.

Terms of delivery of up to nine months are reported for some models. Although investments last year amounted to 175 million Marks, treble the 1967 figure, the working-capital loan of thirty million Marks, raised at the end of year, has since been paid back in full.

Investments of 510 million Marks are planned for the next three years. It seems probable that the boost to share capital, much discussed on the stock market, will be decided this year and effected in 1970. A possible increase of two per cent in dividends—bringing them up to fourteen per cent—has not been confirmed by the management. BMW's financial experts are anxious to build up their reserves.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 January 1969)

Currency stability can be maintained

Wherever one goes, to London, Zurich, Paris or New York the Mark is a coveted asset. Everywhere the Federal Republic is envied for its economic stability. Here at home, however, it would seem that the Mark—the "hardest currency in the world"—until recently—is facing a crisis. Professionals and non-professionals are predicting a black year for the Mark.

It is to be expected that prices will increase in 1969. The economy, after all, is in full swing, the trade unions are determined to put through heavy wage increases, management is endeavouring to pass on additional costs to the consumer.

If prices edge up two per cent, as Minister of Economic Affairs Karl Schiller suggests in his annual report, we can consider ourselves fortunate. But if prices rise a little higher, would that really be very serious?

With two years of price stability behind us, do we need to be so apprehensive? Even if prices went up three per cent the devaluation of the Schiller-Mark would not be greater than the devaluation of the Erhard-Mark. Besides, since Currency Reform, we have fared fairly well all along with occasional ups and downs in prices.

All this talk about alleged threats to the country's stability has a stultifying effect. When the threat becomes really serious, as in 1965, no one takes the warnings seriously.

Theorists may pass their time considering model solutions guaranteeing full monetary stability. In practical politics, however, such theorising is useless.

"Creeping inflation," as it is used to be called rather pathetically, has infected every country, whatever its economic system. A realistic policy of stability is founded on three principles:

• The decline in the purchasing power of the currency must not be so precipitous that saving becomes futile.

• Wages and pensions must increase at a faster rate than prices. Some residual increase in purchasing power must remain. • Devaluation should never be greater than the corresponding average in a country's principal trading partners, since otherwise exporters will lose their competitive position on world markets.

Karl Blessing, president of the Bundesbank, has set an ambitious objective for this country's economic policy. He said that a maximum price increase of 1.5 per cent should be allowed. Herr Blessing was speaking in Oldenburg and strangely enough he was applauded by those who normally reject what Professor Erhard used to call "calculations."

It will probably remain Karl Blessing's secret why he would tolerate an increase of 1.4 per cent and condemn as an economic mortal sin a jump of 1.6 per cent. Apart from all this, it might be noted that prices last December were 2.7 per cent higher than in the same period of 1967.

The Bundesbank is not, however, thinking of stepping on the brakes. Karl Blessing was somewhat imprudent, therefore. He was setting a standard which he himself would not like to have to maintain.

(Die Zeit, 31 January 1969)

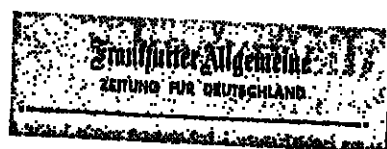
Sicco Mansholt's plan has been fallaciously criticised

January and February are traditionally busy months for the shapers of agricultural policy. Soan's agricultural report has been issued, the Green Week is on in West Berlin and now discussions of the Mansholt Plan for agriculture are in full swing in Brussels.

In no other country in the Common Market has this plan been received with such deplorable and inaccurate criticism as in the Federal Republic. But the truth will win out.

The farmers' newspapers had to print first the high-falutin statements of their union's president. Meanwhile, however, they have altered course, having thoroughly studied the facts as presented by Sicco Mansholt.

Anyone who cares to talk to young farmers in this country today will be told outright that the time has come to put an end to the banner-waving and speeches of union officials. These young men know that they have been led in the wrong direction for twenty years. Edmund Reh-



winkel, outgoing president of the Farmers' Union, has left behind a lot of agricultural debris. It is perhaps time for other presidents to retire.

It is to be hoped that the Mansholt Plan will be intelligently discussed during Green Week. Fatal too is the demand for more agricultural protection raised by French Foreign Minister Michel Debré in Brussels. It is most unlikely, however, that France will find many sympathisers for this proposal in Brussels. It was the high protectionist barriers in the Common Market that caused many of the crises on the agricultural market. If greater protection is introduced EEC countries will end up in a trade war. Debré's proposal is as foolish as Rehwinkel's.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 January 1969)

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TECHNOLOGY

Experts explain to Bundestag committeemen complexities of breeder reactors

Overshadowed by the resignation of Bundestag speaker Eugen Gerstenmaier an encounter that is so far virtually unique in Federal Republic politics took place in Bonn on 22 and 23 January. With the greatest of patience top-ranking specialists and managers from nuclear research centres, the atomic energy industry and the power utilities tried to explain to members of the Bundestag science, education and media committees some of the complex technological and scientific factors that go with the development and assessment of breeder reactor power stations.

This hearing, held under the auspices of the Scientific Research Ministry, was not a further education seminar but a discussion modelled on the hearings held by the US Senate, and the Bundestag committee members expected the experts not only to explain but also to account for their decisions. When all is said and done, the project that looks like having to be shelved, the development of a steam-cooled breeder reactor, has already cost fifty million Marks.

It is a well-known fact that all industrialised countries set great store by the development of breeder reactors to meet future power requirements. Breeder reactors not only generate heat and energy also produce more nuclear fuel as a by-product. In the long term they promise to function without the aid of isotope separation plants, which are essential for the present generation of nuclear power stations. In the short term they promise to generate power more cheaply than their predecessors.

Two projects have been in progress in this country. The one involves using sodium as a carrier for the heat generated the other is to use high-pressure steam as a coolant. In the last two years the prospects of steam-cooled reactors have

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHEN NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN

sunk to such a low level that the decision to build a pilot power station, originally scheduled for this year, cannot reasonably be taken without additional lengthy investigation. The delay makes the idea increasingly less interesting from the commercial viewpoint.

The secrecy in which the project was shrouded last autumn and the fervour of a number of press attacks on the management of the project at Karlsruhe nuclear research centre left interested members of the general public and the Bundestag with the impression that an unfair campaign was being fought against the advocates of steam cooling, particularly Rudolf Ritz, the man in charge at Karlsruhe.

Herr Ritz had ample opportunity to state his case in Bonn but was none too convincing and will have to acknowledge his defeat. The assembled experts were largely agreed that efforts should now be exclusively devoted to the sodium-cooled breeder reactor. The steam-cooled reactor, it was recommended, should be taken off the priority list.

Neither a pilot power station nor an experimental reactor should be built and the experience gained in the course of work on the steam-cooled breeder project should be recorded carefully in case it comes in useful for similar projects in the future. Work on fuel element development, which is where the crucial difficulties lie, should, however, be continued, it was proposed, mainly because fundamental material problems are involved.

The final recommendation was that more attention should be paid to the idea

of helium as a coolant. It may well be that helium-cooled reactors will fill the bill should sodium breeders prove less promising than they at present appear to be.

Some of the specialists who attended the two-day hearing will have felt that a disproportionate amount of money was being spent on the deliberations. All that happened was that what has been going the rounds in specialist circles for some time was said in public.

But the expense was necessary to create an adequate relationship of trust between parliament and the assembled experts. No one needed to be a specialist himself to sense that the specialists were putting all their cards on the table and that the proposal to relegate the steam-cooled reactor project was not merely a behind-the-scenes intrigue.

Dr Ulrich Lohmar, chairman of the science, education and research committee of

the Bundestag, made a statement acquitting Professor Wolf Häfela, the man ultimately responsible for the steam-cooled reactor project, of charges of misleading the Bundestag. Accusations of this kind, Dr Lohmar noted, are incorrect and can only have come about because of a misunderstanding. The hearing had taught all concerned to be critical but not disbelieving.

The Bundestag will not in future be able to afford such expensive information sessions on every minor technical issue, but where the issues at stake are fundamental ones, as was the case with the present decision on priorities in reactor development, hearings of this kind could well be held.

The general public and the members of parliament it elects have a right to be included in discussions about decisions of this nature even though the topic may appear to be beyond them.

Karlsruhe nuclear research centre has yet to prove itself particularly effective at public relations and the Ministry of Scientific Research was also without doubt ill-advised to begin by trying to limit discussion of such an important matter to specialist circles. This left the way clear for criticism that was not always justified, as has now been shown. But all the parties concerned appear to have learned their lesson.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 January 1969)

Air death decrease

Last year there were 135 accidents in civil aviation in this country. Fifty-two people sustained fatal injuries. The aircraft involved were, according to the Federal Republic Civil Aviation Office in Brunswick, seventy powered aeroplanes, 54 gliders, four private helicopters and six balloons.

At 108 the number of injured was down up on the previous year but there were nine fewer accidents than in 1967, when 60 people died in crashes. In 1968 a total of 2,792 privately-owned aircraft were registered in this country.

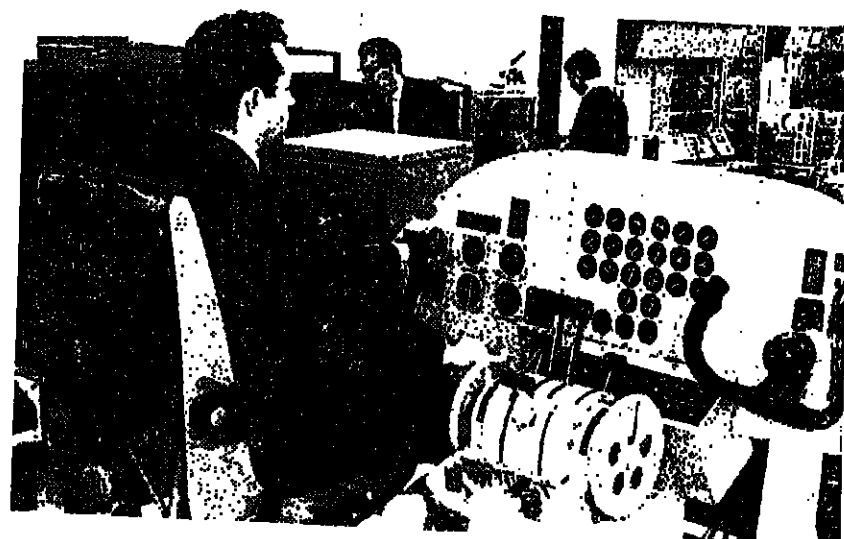
(DIE WELT, 10 February 1969)

All-purpose Hansa jet

To extend the uses of its Hansa Jet, originally intended for business trips, Hamburg Flugzeugbau has developed a "quick-change version" which can be re-equipped specially for normal airline traffic. The QC model will be the first general-purpose jet in this class to be marketed.

Three versions are planned, a seven-seater business plane, an eleven-seater for feeder service and a cargo aeroplane with a payload of 1.6 tons.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 January 1969)



Over the next two years five test pilots will gain experience in handling the VFW 614 jet at the true-to-life controls of this flight simulator in VFW's Bremen computer centre. When an additional unit is added the man in the dummy cockpit will not only see how his computerised jet behaves at landing and take-off from the dozens of dials, all of which register the expected measurements; he will also hear pre-recorded engine noise. But the real benefit to be gained from this expensive investment is the possibility of ironing out teething troubles before the aircraft even leaves the drawing-board.

(Photo: VFW-Li 625)

the many other levers. The pilot's instructions are evaluated by the computer and, together with the changes they bring about, immediately registered on the instrument panel.

VFW have organised five teams, each consisting of a test pilot and a flight engineer who holds a pilot's licence, to give this country's first jet airliner the once-over before it leaves the drawing-board. Pilots of the airlines that intend one day to fly this fast short-haul jet can also test-fly it at a cruising-speed of

460 miles an hour and an altitude of 21,000 feet in the Bremen computer centre.

On 1 February 1971 the first prototype of the VFW 614 is scheduled to take off for the first time from Neuenlande airport, Bremen. The test pilot in the cockpit will have had the benefit of many hours of simulated flight. He will be no stranger to the plane and no longer need to go through a number of anxious moments, good and bad, in the air.

(Industriekurier, 25 January 1969)

Jet VFW 614 undergoes simulator tests at Bremen

Industriekurier
ZEITUNG FÜR WIRTSCHAFTSLEBENS UND WISSEN

Two years before the first take-off the test pilots of the VFW 614, this country's first jet airliner, are gaining an idea of how the seventeen-ton plane handles at take-off and landing, how it manages when climbing or at full throttle, how it reacts to side-winds when coming in to land, to what extent the brakes reduce taxiing speed and how easily the steering shapes out in unusual situations.

The cockpit test pilots have been using since 3 February is fully equipped with the complete range of instruments but firmly grounded in the computer centre of the manufacturers, Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke of Bremen, the merger of Focke-Wulf, Heinkel and Weser Flugzeugbau. The flight simulator is controlled by a hybrid computer, a combination of digital and analogue equipment.

The VFW 614 that pilots are already test-flying consists of a cockpit and hundreds of facts stored in the computer's memory. From the data supplied the computer simulates the way in which the completed aircraft is likely to react to both external factors and the pilot's handling of the controls.

Simulation is an expensive business but it is indispensable for aircraft construction today. Not only the pilots but also the designers learn in advance how their brainchild is going to behave. Flight

simulation and the building of prototypes go hand in hand. Experience gained in the test cockpit is immediately evaluated and put to use.

Flight in the simulator is comparable in almost every respect to actual flight. When the test pilot starts the twin engines the instruments on the panel register revs, temperatures and all the data the pilot must keep an eye on during a flight. In the second construction stage of the simulator the test pilot will even hear taped engine noises.

The data of the two Rolls Royce M 45 H engines are stored in the computer and converted into electrical charges by means of a transformer. In accordance with the position of the joystick and many other factors the instruments register the appropriate measurements.

The principle of simulated flight is based on arranging flight movements in terms of mathematical equations. The mathematical data can be converted into electrical signals that the pilot sees as measurements on his instrument panel.

When the aircraft is gaining height the altimeter must register the gain in relation to the speed and angle of climb. This is done with the aid of the mass of data stored in the computer, data such as the flying weight, the weather, engine performance at the stated weight, aerodynamic factors and the like.

In the cockpit itself the altitude as shown on the altimeter can be regulated in exactly the same way as during an actual flight—by moving the joystick and

TRAFFIC

Road accident emergency calls service should be improved

Roughly 17,000 people a year die on the roads of this country and a further half a million are injured in traffic accidents. The Red Cross and other similar organisations are continually on the road giving first aid.

Speed often makes the difference between life and death. At the behest of the Red Cross a Nuremberg firm has developed an emergency telephone device that will enable first aid posts, doctors, hospitals and the police to be notified of the kind and extent of traffic accidents with the least possible delay. Twenty thousand emergency telephones are to be set up along trunk roads.

At the unveiling of the new device spokesmen for the Red Cross emphasised that efforts to improve and complete the emergency phone network along autobahns and trunk roads had been under way for many years.

The emergency phones at present in use are merely extensions to the telephone of a first aid volunteer who is not tied to be at home. If there is no answer nothing can be done. To use autobahn emergency phones and police phones would apparently be prohibitively expensive, as according to the Red Cross both use separate cable systems that cost 80,000 Marks a mile.

The new device, developed by Tokede of Nuremberg, is an automatic dialling set erected along the side of trunk roads and linked by party line to a normal domestic telephone. If there is no answer the call is automatically put through to the nearest first aid post.

The device is operated in much the same way as a standard emergency tele-

phone. A pane of glass must first be broken and a button pressed, whereupon a door opens and the phone operated by pulling a lever. As over a normal telephone questions and answers can then be passed to and fro.

This latest version of emergency phone costs 3,000 Marks a time. The Federal Ministry of Transport will mostly be footing the bill for the planned 20,000 phones. Ministry approval has already been given

World's largest glider given test flight

Hannoversche Allgemeine
ZEITUNG

Described by the enthusiasts who built it, members of Brunswick Technical College Gliding Society, as the largest competition glider in the world, the 72-foot wing-span fibre-glass SB 9 has successfully been test-flown.

Pilot Helmut Treiber flew the SB 9, a successor to the SB 8 V 2, for half an hour over Brunswick's Waggum airport. "It went wonderfully well. Performance was amazing," Treiber claims.

"Despite its enormous wing-span the SB 9 is manoeuvrable enough," Helmut Treiber intends to enter the glider for

the open class at the national gliding championships.

Its student designers and builders spent roughly 10,000 hours on the glider, which consists almost entirely of fibre-glass. Cash was provided by the Federal Republic Research Association and the state government of Lower Saxony.

The SB 9 would have cost somewhere in the region of 45,000 Marks to build commercially but the students cut expenses down to the cost of raw materials and even had the design thoroughly tested at the Brunswick Aerospace Research Institute.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 January 1969)

The huge glider immediately after its test flight
(Photo: Dix)

VW-Porsche sports car

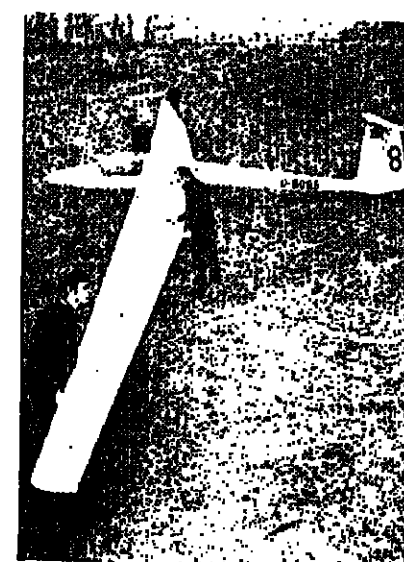
Rumours circulating since last autumn of a sports car to be developed jointly by Volkswagen and Porsche have been justified. Both companies have decided to found VW-Porsche-Vertrieb to market sports cars developed by both.

One of the new sports cars projected is to be the first in this country with an engine in front of the rear axle and directly behind the seats. As a sporty VW the new model would probably have a 75 hp engine, as a small Porsche it would have a 110 hp engine.

Outward characteristics would include adjustable headlamps, a vertical rear window and a hood which can be removed, similar to the Porsche Targa.

The VW model would cost about 10,000 Marks, the Porsche 12,000 Marks.

(Hannoversche Presse, 31 January 1969)



Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

One of the world's top ten

When a newspaper ranks as one of the ten best in the world, both its coverage and its editorial contents assume international significance. Twice the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has been named one of the ten best newspapers of the world. The first time, in 1963, by professors of the Journalism Department of Syracuse University in New York. The second time, in 1964, by the professors of 26 institutes in the United States.

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ROAD NETWORK CONSIDERABLY EXTENDED

But for the past two or three years construction work has been progressing at a fair pace on a city belt between the

badly in need of repair as West Berlin. An energetic programme of urban renewal is in progress: 58,000 pre-war flats, mostly dating from before the turn of the century and huddled around gloomy back yards, are to be given a new look. What is not demolished is to be modernised.

Cement deserts are certainly being built in the other part of Berlin. Few socialist capitals can match East Berlin's conformity to a single system of prefabricated sections. The tendency is to build upwards. There are plans for 300 to 330-foot hotels and office blocks.

TOP-FLIGHT ATHLETES GIVE ENCOURAGEMENT

It is no coincidence that league tables are rife in the film and sporting worlds. Small wonder, too, that in both the zoological concept of the star is rampant. The star is an international figure, wa-

"I never cease to be amazed," comments Sepp Herberger, ex-national football coach, "by the ease with which sporting journalists invariably succeed in

Sport undoubtedly needs top-flight athletes to encourage youngsters to emulate their performances, but it can well do without a prefabricated personality cult.

(DIE WELT, 20 January 1968)

For Königsdorf 16 January was the date of a century, the countdown into modernity. This village twenty miles south of Munich has three hotels, no cinema, a

Oskar Kokoschka, 82, exponent of Expressionism, produced this first poster for the 1972 Olympics in Munich. Other posters have been commissioned from Vasarely, Lenica, Pollakoff and Indiana

The first official Olympic poster was made public during Avery Brundage's visit to Munich. It is a silk screen print, Oscar Kokoschka's first, and represents a Greek youth with the twin towers of a famous Munich church in the background to indicate the connection with the Bavarian capital. Thirty well-known artists from all over the world are to participate in a series entitled Editions Olympia.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 January 1965)

SA \$ 0.05	Columbia	col. \$ 1.-	Formosa	NT \$ 5.-	Indonesia	Rp. 15.-	Malawi	11 d	Paraguay	G. 15.-	Sudan	£ 1.-
AI 10	Congo (Brazzaville)		France	FF 600	Iran	R 10	Malaysia	RM 0.40	Peru	S. 3.50	Switzerland	Fr. 5.-
DA 0.50	Cuba	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Cabon	100	Italy	50 (Ita)	Mal	FM 00	Philippines	P. phil 0.60	Tanzania	EA 0.-
10	Congo (Kinshasa)		Gambia	11 d	Ireland	11 d	Mexico	\$ 1.50	Poland	Z 30	Thailand	฿ 3.-
\$ in 45.-			Germany	DM 1.-	Israel	1 E 0.40	Morocco	DM -43	Portugal	Esc. 1.-	Trinidad and Tobago	TT \$ 1.00
10 c.	Costa Rica	C 0.85	Ghana	¢ 0.12	Italy	100	Mosambique	Esc. 1.-	Romania	100	Uganda	UG 10
S \$ 1.50	Cyprus	P 15	Great Britain	11 d	Ivory Coast	P.C.F.A. 30.-	Nepal	Rs 10	Saudi Arabia	R. 12	Togo	P.C.F.A. 30
bl 6			Greece	Dr 4	Jamaica	11 d	Netherlands	Hfl 50	Rumani	Lei 50	Turkey	TL 1
bl 6.50			Guatemala	Q 0.15	Japan	Yen 50	Niue	100	Sudan	£ 1.00	Tunisia	T 1
H. Cl. \$ 0.35	Czechoslovakia	Kc 50	BW 1	100	Jordan	50	Nicaragua	C 0.25	Switzerland	Fr. 50	USA	\$ 1.-
Key \$ 0.35	Delaware	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Guinea	F.G. 30.-	Kenya	EAs 0.25	New Zealand	G. ent 0.25	Sweden	DKr 10	Uruguay	PT 5.-
K 0.60	Denmark	dkr 0.80	Haiti	G 0.65	Kuwait	50 fil	Nicaragua	C 0.25	Switzerland	F.C.F.A. 30.-	USA	\$ 1.-
F. Bu. 10.	Dom. Rep.	\$ 20	Honduras (Dr.)	\$ HK 0.20	Laos	50	Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.-	Thailand	฿ 10	USSR	Р 0.-
10	Ecuador	RD 50	India	Rs 100	Lebanon	P 40.-	Nigeria	11 d	Tanzania	Sh 50	Venezuela	\$ 1.-
10	El Salvador	C 0.30	Hong Kong	\$ HK 0.70	Liberia	Llb \$ 0.15	Norway	Nkr 0.90	Spain	Rand 0.10		
Can \$ 20	Ethiopia	thk 0.30	Hungary	Fl. 1.-	Libya	50 Milis	Pakistan	Rs 0.60	South Korea	S. Vin 10	Yugoslavia	Din 1.-
¢ 60	Fiji	F 10	Iceland	Isk 10	Luxemburg	Fr 50	Panama	B 0.15	Spain	Pis 8	Zambia	11
	Finland				Madagascar	Rp 80						

Peking says No to Nixon arranged Warsaw meeting

President Nixon's first major foreign policy setback is Peking's refusal to attend the scheduled Warsaw talks between the ambassadors of the two countries. The Chinese justified their abrupt move on the ground that the detection of diplomatic Liao Ho-shu in The Hague has created an unfavourable climate, the whole business being America's fault anyway.

Secretary of State Rogers promptly issued a declaration assuring that the United States has nothing to do with the defection and that a decision had yet to be made on Liao's request for asylum. It was still hoped that contacts with Peking would be resumed.

The United States would like to discuss on an exchange of journalists, scientists and artists and issues affecting postal links between the two countries and is also prepared to consider the possibility of a mutual declaration of peaceful coexistence.

Washington has for some time been wondering who was pulling the strings in the Liao affair at a difficult juncture for reconciliation or rapprochement between the United States and mainland China, a development that many would have welcomed.

It is generally agreed that both Moscow and advocates of US-Soviet cooperation must be interested in torpedoing contacts with Peking.

From the start the background to the affair has made it seem more than likely that agents of Moscow have been involved.

Peking's refusal for the time being ends Mr Nixon's hopes of confronting the Russians with a Sino-American initiative.

Marlene Manthey
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 20 February 1969)

Continued from page 1

unambiguously clear that Germany was to have its nationhood restored:

"In this way the Allies became the trustees of a reformed Germany... The core of this trusteeship was Berlin, the traditional national capital."

The rights and duties of the Western powers in Berlin do not, however, derive solely from documents. They are a result of the capitulation of the Third Reich and exist independently of the agreement of the Soviet Union. Washington has often maintained this viewpoint, including among these rights access to Berlin.

On traffic to and from Berlin agreements with the Soviet Union also exist. In June 1945 Truman and Stalin exchanged telegrams on freedom of access "by air, road and rail." Since 4 May 1949 there has been a four-power agreement ending all restrictions imposed by the Soviet Union during the Berlin blockade on telecommunications, transport and commercial traffic between Berlin and the western zones of Germany. By this agreement Moscow acknowledged the freedom of access existing prior to the blockade.

The relationship between West Berlin and the Federal Republic is subordinate to the responsibility of the Western powers for the city. According to Article 23 Basic Law also holds good in Greater Berlin and according to the West Berlin Constitution Berlin is a constituent state of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Governing Mayor Klaus Schütz was right in again pointing out that West Berlin can only survive by virtue of its links with the economic, judicial and financial system of the Federal Republic. But in accordance with the four-power status final sovereignty is in the hands of the Western powers.

The Western powers' position in Berlin is based on the repeatedly proclaimed three essentials:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

French vacant seat policy

WEU's MAIN FIELD EUROPEAN SECURITY

Paris has put into effect its recently heralded move and is, for what at present is termed an indefinite period, to disperse with active membership of the Western European Union.

This is General de Gaulle's reply to a meeting of the permanent representatives of WEU countries held in London to discuss the Middle Eastern situation regardless of France's refusal to take part. This, then, is the bone of contention.

In principle France has not been opposed to political consultations within the framework of the Western European Union, talks that for France's five fellow-members of the European Common Market would have the advantage of British participation. But, as Paris sees it, talks should be limited in the closest possible manner to the original purpose of the WEU.

The WEU was originally set up as a result of a brainstorm on the part of Anthony Eden, at that time Britain's Foreign Secretary. Following the failure of the European Defence Community project this country was to be provided with a link with other Western European countries as a prerequisite for Nato membership.

The WEU's main field of activity is thus European security in the broader and narrower senses of the term. At the same time the WEU was to provide a convenient opportunity of retaining Britain in the process of European consultation regardless of the complexities of an increase in membership of the Common Market.

France could hardly object. The most it could do was to limit its own contribution towards the activities of the WEU to a minimum.

- freedom and viability of West Berlin, protection of its links with the Federal Republic,
- maintenance of the four-power status, which applies to all Berlin,
- presence of Allied troops in Berlin and safeguard of free access.

In a swift succession of Berlin crises the blockade of 1948 and 1949, the establishment of the GDR capital in East Berlin and the stationing of GDR troops in the city, Khrushchev's ultimatum of 27 November 1958, the erection of the infamous Wall in August 1961 and the constant restrictions on travel between Berlin and the Federal Republic constitute clear offences against international law.

Moscow and East Berlin are pursuing the declared aim of separating West Berlin from the Federal Republic, so dividing Germany yet again and setting up an independent political unit of West Berlin.

Moscow and East Berlin's attitude towards the law is once more shown by the pressure they are bringing to bear in order to increase tension. East Berlin's claim that West Berlin forms part of the territory of the German Democratic Republic is not borne out by the documents quoted. And Pravda calmly refers to the four-power agreements Moscow unilaterally (and so illegally) declared no longer existent in a diplomatic note of 17 October 1967.

Law unfortunately only provides effective protection where it can be enforced, and where it can be enforced is not a question of law but one of politics. The people of Berlin can be sure of the protection of the Western powers and Nato, protection that forms part of the declared essentials.

Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode
(Die Welt, 15 February 1969)

The General indeed only felt things had gone too far when, on Britain's initiative, it was decided that the WEU Council should also meet to discuss topics such as the Middle East.

From France's point of view the objection is reasonable enough. For the first time General de Gaulle felt caught in the strands of his own logic.

By vetoing British membership of the Common Market the General brought the process of European political integration to a standstill too, since a number of European countries refuse to make fundamental decisions without British participation.

This not only prevented Europe from talking with one voice; it also stopped France from appearing on the international scene as a great power with European backing.

It is debatable whether or not General de Gaulle welcomed this state of affairs but he certainly concluded that what he had to do was to pursue an independent policy wherever possible. The last opportunity was the Middle Eastern crisis, in which France followed an independent policy line as a UN-approved great power.

Britain's counter-move, supported by France's five Common Market partners, of extending the process of consultation to the Middle East problem threatened to push French moves into the background.

Britain too is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a participant in the four-power talks on the Middle East. By inviting France's five partners to talks on the Middle East Britain not only offset its exclusion from the Common Market, it also made itself more credible than France as a spokesman for Europe.

From Britain's point of view the Middle East talks were a means of seeing how far France's partners in Europe would go on their own. They have inadvertently developed into a confrontation within Europe.

It comes at a most dangerous juncture, making President Nixon's talks with his European allies even more complicated (and there is a limit to the amount of strain a new American administration can withstand or might be prepared to countenance).

This European quarrel also comes at a moment when all concerned, particularly the United States, must prepare to weather a Soviet-inspired trial of strength in Berlin with neither risk nor injury.
(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 18 February 1969)

Italian Communists turn recalcitrant

The strategy of the New Left, outlined by General Secretary Luigi Longo at the Bologna congress of the Italian Communist Party (CPI), opposed by a few representatives of the Stalinist old guard but accepted by nearly all members of the party leadership, will be the main topic of domestic politics in Italy in the months to come.

The CPI has not only a right but also a duty to govern. The right can hardly be denied a party that gains a third of the vote but it has been unsuccessful since 1947 for lack of allies among other, democratic parties and because of three main differences:

- the Italian Communists' readiness to know-how to Moscow,
- the definition of freedom and
- the rejection of the guarantees that parliamentary democracy provides to protect the institutions of a democratic state.

No new tenets were proclaimed at the Bologna congress but it did become clear that these differences of principle are now only partially valid. The CPI now no longer says yes and amen to everything that issues from Moscow and it also approves of parliamentarism and plurality of political parties, even though the folds of its new democratic cloak still contain a large number of reservations.

In the eyes of many the CP will have grown more credible and the number of its supporters will grow as difficulties to the Christian Democratic and Socialist Parties increase.

In theory all offers Signor Longo may make are superfluous and platonic since the coalition has a considerable majority in Parliament and could govern resolutely. Yet in practice it is virtually unable to act because the coalition parties are so shaken by dissent.

As its difficulties increase the coalition will have to familiarise itself with the idea of relying on Communist support. It will not be the first time. The same procedure has already been followed with regard to the Neofascists.

Luigi Longo is making matters easy for his future partners. He is too subtle to overdo things. He is not insisting on participation in government — not yet, at any rate. Cooperation is to be effected in

stages: first at local authority level, then in the regions that are to be set up, then in Parliament and finally in the Cabinet.

Yet Signor Longo has himself placed a considerable obstacle in the way of this final step by demanding Italy's withdrawal from Nato and the declaration of neutrality. But now it is evident that this obstacle too is only apparently insuperable.

Carlo Galluzzi, the man responsible for the foreign section of the CPI, has explained that Italy's withdrawal must first crystallise as a necessity in the minds of the general public. CPI participation in government will not founder on a formal stipulation.
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 February 1969)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Government's defence policy White Paper for the 1970s

On casual reading Bonn's latest defence White Paper is unsensational. However, on closer attention a surprise comes to light: Federal Republic defence policy is becoming realistic.

Before Herman Kahn, the American, published his book *Escalation* — in which Western defence strategy is based — he wrote another, frightening study called *Thinking about the Unthinkable*. This book calmly reviews the possible manifestations of an atomic war between the super-powers.

Kahn's descriptions of incredible losses, devastated continents on both sides

More attention to civil defence

The civil defence director at the Ministry of the Interior, Thomsen, warned against the catastrophic consequences of inadequate civil defence in the event of a crisis. In a report published in Bonn Thomsen emphasised the interdependence of military and civil defence.

At the same time he criticised the fact that at present politicians paid little attention to civil defence. Thomsen commented, "Contrary to all logical insights and political statements, insufficient regard is paid to civil defence in the overall conception of defence." If a crisis became unavoidable, this would have catastrophic consequences.
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 18 February 1969)

Twelve months' national service proposed by FDP

The suggestion made by the Free Democratic Party (FDP) that basic military service should again be cut from eighteen to twelve months was rejected by Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Social Democratic Party (SPD) members of the Bundestag Defence Committee at a meeting in the middle of February.

On the same occasion the CDU supported the objections of the Federal Defence Ministry to the proposal, mainly advocated by the SPD, that a variable period of military service lasting between twelve and eighteen months should be introduced. In a statement the CDU said that it still approved of varying periods of military service in principle.

But in view of the present foreign policy situation and the shortage of long-service soldiers resulting in limited training opportunities, a reduction in basic military service was impossible. The SPD concurred with this view in principle but is likely to put forward a compromise suggestion at the next committee meeting.

According to this proposal, a fifteen month period of military service should be introduced as soon as an improvement in the number of long-service soldiers has been achieved. It is said in SPD circles that the party will urgently recommend a reduction to fifteen months service if the personnel structure of the Bundeswehr consists of fifty per cent service-men and fifty per cent long-serving soldiers.

The SPD anticipates that this balanced relationship could be achieved by about 1970. In addition the SPD announced a number of further suggestions for making call-up fairer, which are to be discussed at the next meeting.
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 February 1969)

and of genetic damage to whole generations brought him a good deal of pathetic criticism. But this criticism has made the "unthinkable war" improbable — by discussing the possibilities.

On its more modest level the Federal government's defence policy — partly through reasons which are no fault of Bonn's — also suffered from limited perspectives; the humanitarian motives for this restricted view did not make it any the less dangerous.

After all, the Federal Republic is not an unpopulated, military exercise area but a highly sensitive, virtually enclosed residential and industrial region. What would a war in this country really be like? At what point would further defence in fact become self-destruction?

Up to now no one has been able to give official answers to such questions. The Federal government drew up divisions — but otherwise acted as if these troop units with their enormous firepower would, at worst, have to fight in Africa or on the Don.

Without glossing over the facts, the latest White Paper envisages a limited war on Federal Republic soil. Its objective is a defensive action fought in the frontier area using conventional weapons for as long as possible. The White Paper says that only this kind of concept can "give our country and our people the necessary degree of security and confidence." How true, one is tempted to comment.

It would probably not be wrong to suppose that the ideas of the new Bundeswehr, hoped for by General Schnez, are already beginning to have their effect. The list of major units which the army will need in future unexpectedly includes defence-in-depth brigades, a designation which has not been used in the Bundeswehr structure hitherto.

Defence-in-depth brigades are units which, unlike the existing tank and forward tank brigades, will be concerned with minor or less stationary defensive warfare. They are less mobile but for that reason their equipment and supplies are less vulnerable.

The term "favourable defence area" is used in connection with the defence-in-depth brigades. For a little over half its length the Eastern frontier of the Federal Republic runs through sub-alpine mountains: the Bavarian woods, Fichtel mountains, the Franconian forests, the Rhön district and the Harz mountains.

FDP and SPD criticise Schröder's proposals

Criticism from the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) has greeted the government's defence White Paper. The FDP's specific criticisms are in accordance with the line the party has pursued hitherto. For years the FDP has considered it militarily senseless to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear carrier weapons.

This is a matter of opinion. If the Bundeswehr did not have any carrier weapons, and was hence unable to retaliate with nuclear weapons, then its troops would be the weakest link in the Nato defence chain within the Federal Republic and a possible opponent would concentrate on this link.

It is difficult to appreciate the criticisms of SPD parliamentary leader and defence expert Helmut Schmidt. Of course, the White Paper is not the final word and it

This is where the favourable defence areas are situated which in future will be defended by the fighter brigades. As a result the highly mobile units will be available as operational reserves, and the specially vulnerable North German plain could be defended more effectively with tank units.

Operational rethinking cannot be put into military practice overnight. It will take years to create the prerequisites for this long-term aim of concentrated defence. Above all, training cadres for the fighter units must be established; supplies must be accumulated; some existing first-strike brigades must be transferred.

But here again future trends can be envisaged. The White Paper says, "A flexible system of drawing up reserves and integrating them into army units will make flexible reactions possible during crises."

In fact, at the beginning of the 1970s the Bundeswehr will number approximately 40,000 men more than it does today. Army personnel will be increased by almost fifteen per cent. Compared with the present, the number of reserves called up will be virtually doubled. Thus the fighter brigades are not so imaginary as may appear at first glance.

Military leaders are still not clear about the details, and the general public is still not clear about the broad outline of future Federal Republic defence policy. While the army command still has time, the public should be informed.

The trouble with this country's defence policy has been that few people were

Czech invasion influences paper on defence policy

Although the Federal government's defence White Paper, which is one hundred pages long, has been in preparation for over a year, the consequences of the events of 21 August 1968 are made absolutely plain.

Since the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia, nine additional Soviet divisions have been stationed near the Federal Republic border. But there is another consideration: by this action the Soviet government made it clear that it is prepared to use its military strength to implement its political aims by force.

At present the Bundeswehr strength in 442,000 men. A new concept has been introduced with the "variable personnel figure of between 16,000 and 25,000 soldiers." This measure has been introduced to balance out shortages because of constant fluctuations in the number of men.

The important point about the White Paper is that for the first time it presents a comprehensive picture of the Federal government's defence policy considerations and provisions. It is not directed at experts, but is intended to inform a wide public. This kind of document should have been produced long ago and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) was right to insist on this.

But it is regrettable that little is said about such urgent questions as making call-up fairer or how the Bundeswehr should deal with the problem of the increasing number of conscientious objectors. The White Paper is to be discussed by the Bundestag. It is understandable that the opposition, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), is already making a stand against the government's views; the FDP's main demand, renunciation of atomic weapon carriers, is not taken into account.

Of course, it would be possible to take a different tack and include in a white paper suggestions for strategic or personnel planning, for example, which had already been considered at the Ministry. But such suggestions would probably be suspected of being the government's defensive plans.

Hermann Renner
(Die Welt, 18 February 1969)



Albert Schnez (Photo: BMVg)

able to see a connection between policy and their own fate. And so people have not bothered to think about the subject; the typical attitude was, "For goodness sake — we don't talk about what the Bundeswehr is really supposed to do in the event of a crisis."

Hence, planning was reduced to the purely military sector; defending the population — which in the last analysis every military institution is supposed to effect — was bracketed off. White Papers should represent progress which will gradually lead this country away from a factually unrealistic attitude to defence policy.

Hermann Renner
(Die Welt, 18 February 1969)

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 February 1969)

UNITED NATIONS

Special committee manoeuvring at UN

ARGUMENTS OVER SECOND DEVELOPMENT AID PROGRAMME

It looks as though resistance on the part of the Soviet Union and its East European allies will prevent the Federal Republic from being a member of the United Nations special committee responsible for preparing plans for the second development aid ten-year plan. This would indeed be regrettable but not catastrophic.

The Federal Republic has not tried to wheedle its way onto the committee, on the contrary, other countries have suggested that the Federal Republic should be on the committee. And even if this country is not made a member, it will not withdraw its support from UN development aid programmes.

The Soviet Union's aversion to the suggestion that this country should have a seat on the UN commission for the decade after 1970 is presumably so great because Moscow fears that the Bonn government might try to wean full UN membership via the committee.

As yet the Federal Republic only belongs to UN subsidiary organisations, for

example Unesco, Unctad, FAO and others. But the special committee for the second development aid plan is an offshoot of the UN Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc). Having a seat and vote in a special committee subject to a main UN organisation would, of course, amount to more than membership of subsidiary organisations. This, at any rate, is the view of the Soviet government.

In fact, planning the second development aid ten-year plan is a matter for the World Trade Conference. However, some major powers felt that this organisation with its 128 members was too large a forum to achieve useful work. In particular, industrial countries feared that majority decisions could trigger off a development which would have been injurious to their interests.

The voting relationship on the Economic and Social Council, which up to now has had 27 members, is more favourable. However the General Assembly has decided to expand the Economic Council

by a further 27 members. This was the starting-point of the argument.

It was decided that the nomination of new members should be based on regional groupings. The Western European group, which also includes Canada, Australia and New Zealand, was to nominate seven candidates. As the General Assembly resolution stated explicitly that members of special or subsidiary UN organisations could also be nominated, the Western European group unhesitatingly put the Federal Republic on its list.

This step was taken with the encouragement of various developing countries, which appreciate that every year the Federal Republic contributes considerable sums to development aid and is third on the list of financiers of UN development aid programmes.

Probably these nations hoped that the Federal Republic would commit itself even more strongly to development aid. If it gained a seat on the UN special committee for development aid planning. Throughout the world it is normal for those who provide the money to participate in decision-making.

But the Soviet Union will not accept this. If the Federal Republic were to be made a member of this committee, the Soviet Union insists that the Soviet Zone should also be given a seat even though it is not represented on any UN special organisation. If the president of the UN General Assembly, who has to confirm the nominations by the individual groups, were to accept the Federal Republic's nomination without taking the Soviet Zone into account, then the Soviet Union would boycott the committee's future work.

Because this is a purely political matter, references to the nomination of Switzerland, which like the Federal Republic only belongs to subsidiary UN organisations, had no effect. The Soviet Union is sticking to its guns.

The Western powers are so angry about this turn of events that they, for their part, are now threatening to boycott the special commission if the Federal Republic is not allowed to become a member. At the moment there is no telling how this tug-of-war will end. In fact,

the committee should have met quite some time ago.

This country is in an unpleasant position. It cannot contribute very much to a satisfactory solution. It would be impossible to renounce nomination. After all, the Federal Republic was suggested by other countries. The matter will just have to take its course.

The only thing which this country can do at the present juncture is not to dramatise the issue. If in the end the decision should be what the Federal Republic really deserves on the basis of its considerable contributions, this would still not justify a reduction in this country's contributions to the UN development aid organisations and programmes.

Representation is important. But the policy of the Federal Republic and its actual influence on development aid during the ten years beginning 1970 is much more important. The political intrigue of the Soviet Union at the UN is not worth magnifying into a self-pitying government issue.

On 21 February the President of the UN General Assembly and Guatemala Foreign Affairs Minister, Emilio Aranales, announced the appointment of the Federal Republic to the UN special committee to prepare plans for the Second Development Aid Ten-Year Programme.

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Representation is important. But the policy of the Federal Republic and its actual influence on development aid during the ten years beginning 1970 is much more important. The political intrigue of the Soviet Union at the UN is not worth magnifying into a self-pitying government issue.

Klaus Nalorp
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 February 1969)

Fewer visiting pensioners from Soviet Zone

Last year more than a million pensioners from the Soviet Zone visited relatives in the Federal Republic. However, according to the Ministry for Refugees and Expellees this figure represents a drop of 2.5 per cent as against 1967. The Ministry attributes this decrease to temporary travel restrictions after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact nations. On 31 December 1967 there were 3.26 million pensioners living in the Soviet Zone.

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 February 1968)

West Berlin's SED shops around for a new image

At an extraordinary party conference the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party (SED) has not only changed one letter of its initials but has also tried to give itself a new image. In future it will be called the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW)—in accordance with the Eastern three-state theory—instead of simply SED. And the political programme, which was approved by conference, is intended to create the impression that the SEW is a self-sufficient, independent party.

A glance at the finances of the West Berlin Communists demonstrates that this is not true. It is estimated that the party receives something over 400,000 Marks in contributions. On the debit side, staff wages, rent, subsidies to the party newspaper *die Wahrheit* probably amount to 2.3 million Marks.

In addition at the beginning of 1968 the party was in a position to acquire a large building complex for 3.5 million Marks in which it has installed a modern printing press.

In this situation it is quite natural that as yet the West Berlin SED has not dissociated itself from the views of its East Berlin counterpart on any issue, despite the formal break with the Soviet Zone SED in 1962. This applies to the Berlin Question and All-German policy as well as to internal problems in the socialist camp.

After the invasion of Czechoslovakia there was indeed some discussion amongst the comrades. But the hard-liners came out on top. There were reports of such comments as: "It would have been best to get rid of the whole Dubcek clique."

The extreme outdatedness of the party explains the dogmatic attitude of many West Berlin comrades. The political opinions of a large number of the 6,800 members were formed during the Stalin era. From the top downwards efforts are being made to counteract the excessive influence of these older generation Communists. Every year two younger comrades are sent to Moscow for an annual course and when they return attempts are made to push them more into the foreground.

As well as stressing the party's independence, the new political programme emphasises a certain loyalty to the state authorities. The West Berlin Communists insist that they stand by the principles of the 1950 West Berlin constitution.

By so doing, they obviously want to dissociate themselves from the anti-

authoritarian, anarchic elements of Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO). Pipe-dreams of joint action with APO and hence of broadening the basis of the West Berlin party, which were in vogue in May 1968, were forgotten long ago.

In fact, several times during recent months the SED has tried to have a moderating effect on the Socialist Students' League (SDS). When this proved unsuccessful the Communists began to distance themselves from the left-wing revolutionary groups. It is no wonder that APO now regards the West Berlin SED as part of the Establishment.

One of the reasons for this attitude is also because to an increasing extent this communist party is striving to achieve a bourgeois image. SED leader Danelius, who moved with his family from East to West Berlin a year ago, no longer calls himself First Secretary but Chairman of the party. And the party headquarters have been moved from an uninspiring old building in the working-class district of Neukölln to truly spacious accommodation in middle-class Charlottenburg.

Liselotte Müller
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 February 1968)

BOOK REVIEWS

Joseph Wirth's cabinets of the early twenties

GOVERNMENT WITH LITTLE ROOM TO MANOEUVRE

ERNST LAUBACH: *Die Politik der Kabinette Wirth (The policy of Wirth's Cabinets)*. Published by Matthiesen Verlag, Lübeck and Munich, 334 pages, 44 Marks.

This very thorough and objective study, which provides an extraordinarily lucid review of difficult material, by a young historian could be subtitled "The problematic policy of fulfilment." The period (1921-23) during which Reich Chancellor Joseph Wirth and his two Cabinets held office—which only lasted eighteen months—can be taken as an ideal example of the enormous problems and difficulties facing German politics after the Treaty of Versailles.

The London ultimatum of 5 May 1921 fixed the reparations to be paid by Germany at 132,000 million Marks and threatened that the Ruhr would be occupied if this demand was not accepted. It was in this hour of crisis that Dr Joseph Wirth (formerly Finance Minister in Feilerbach's Cabinet which resigned), who was on the left of the Centre Party, formed his first Cabinet consisting of members of the Centre Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Party.

The new government was encumbered with three considerable mortgages: the intolerable burden of reparations, uncertainty over the fate of Upper Silesia, and the continued occupation of the three "sanction cities": Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort.

Dr Rosen, Minister of Foreign Affairs and former ambassador to The Hague, was primarily concerned with trying to achieve an initially, very modest and utterly confidential understanding with Britain. But it transpired that Chancellor Wirth and his very close colleague Dr Rathenau had little sympathy for Rosen's objective and pinned all their hopes on rapprochement with France.

Early on, Rosen realised that in essence the question of reparations involved political considerations, however important and weighty the attendant economic and financial problems might be.

In his book, Ernst Laubach exaggerates Rosen's ideas on pursuing a policy of understanding towards Britain. He talks of a policy aimed solely at reaching agreement with Britain, whereas Rosen (Vol. 3/4, page 311 f) only says "primarily."

Despite certain initial successes, Rosen did not achieve the aim of his policy towards Britain. When it came to deciding the fate of Upper Silesia, Britain did not offer the necessary support. Unfortunately, at the time she did not yet feel able to oppose decisively France's hegemonial policy.

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

German efforts to win over the French only had "slight prospects of success" right from the start, as Laubach says. "Brundage's scope in the domestic sphere was so limited that he could only display a small amount of understanding towards Germany, and in addition he was obligated to Poland... Thus Brundage could not approve a frontier settlement which was unfavourable to Poland."

The pronouncement on this issue by the League of Nations, which at the time Rosen justifiably regarded sceptically, accorded completely with the interests of France and Poland and resulted in the division of Upper Silesia and the loss of valuable industrial regions.

There followed the resignation of Wirth's first Cabinet which was intended

as a protest against the decision on Upper Silesia, but this gesture was invalidated by the return of Wirth as Chancellor and of most of his ministers.

The policy of Wirth's first Cabinet towards Russia presents rather a blurred picture. In a comprehensive memorandum at the beginning of 1921 Rosen supported far-reaching cooperation with Russia. But during his five months in office he appears to have treated Russia brusquely "probably as a result of Ebert's attitude."

Separate Russian policy

It is very distressing to learn that, behind the backs of the Foreign Affairs Minister and the President of the Reich, Wirth and Ago von Maltzan tried to pursue a separate Russian policy and continued to do so later when Rathenau was Foreign Affairs Minister in his second Cabinet.

It would be wrong to regard Rosen as a fundamental opponent of a positive policy towards Russia. Laubach rightly describes the conclusion of the peace treaty with the United States as a success for Rosen's "stubborn negotiations."

Apart from a certain intensification of relations with Russia, the policy of Wirth's second Cabinet did not involve any significant changes in previous foreign policy. The problematic tug-of-war



Joseph Wirth
(Photo: Ullstein)

on the question of reparations, which Laubach describes clearly and in detail, continued.

In a speech to the Supreme Council in Cannes, Rathenau achieved a considerable success of outline: "The moral gain... was noteworthy but the political gain

was negligible because even as Rathenau was speaking news arrived from Paris of Briand's fall." Poincaré took office.

The "pure" policy of fulfilment was unable to put a stop to France's power politics or the occupation of the Ruhr; the reparations issue could not be solved completely independently of general foreign policy.

It is worth noting that as Foreign Affairs Minister (from the end of January 1922) Rathenau regarded the German situation vis-à-vis Russia "very differently from Wirth and von Maltzan." The fact that the Treaty of Rapallo was nevertheless concluded has been frequently discussed and variously evaluated. Despite the Rapallo Treaty, as Laubach points out, Russo-German relations only developed very hesitantly.

In November 1922 Wirth's second Cabinet resigned because the proposed extension of the government to the Right miscarried. Since Rathenau's death, but particularly during the preceding months, people who basically approved the policy of fulfilment had gained the impression that Wirth was no longer up to the demands of his office.

Despite the sympathy which Laubach shows for Wirth, he concludes that it is highly improbable that Wirth's government would have been able to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr in the long run. But one can agree that the policy of Wirth's Cabinets helped to create the circumstances on which Stresemann was able to build a year later.

However, a final judgement on Wirth as a person and on his attitude to the policy of fulfilment will remain disputed. Laubach's thorough study is a valuable contribution to the history of the Weimar Republic and reparations policy.

Heinrich Müller-Werth
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 February 1969)

Konrad Adenauer's fourth volume of memoirs — a vague trailing off

KONRAD ADENAUER: *Erinnerungen 1950 bis 1963 (Memoirs 1950 to 1963)*. Published by Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart, 375 pages, 24.80 Marks.

As an autobiographer, former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer signed off with a successful comment directed against his unpopular successor: "At the end of the discussion the conversation touched briefly on the question of my successor. De Gaulle said that this was a Federal Republic matter and did not concern France. However, he said that he would not conceal the fact that for France and particularly for him, De Gaulle, Federal Republic policy would be a question-mark after my retirement. He was thinking of Federal Republic policy generally."

This was in July 1963, three months before Adenauer's retirement. The former government leader did not recur whether or not he replied to this observation. The fourth volume of his memoirs remained unfinished. Looked at from a purely literary viewpoint, this volume is certainly the most inadequate.

Apart from brief reports of his first discussions with the Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion, and with the American President, the newly-invested John F. Kennedy (the concentrates on describing Kennedy's numerous intellectual advisers), this volume is taken up exclusively by reports of various meetings with the French head of state, all in indirect speech and certainly quoting official records.

There was really no need for Adenauer himself to go to this trouble; a historian could have done just as good or even a better, compilation job with the help of the relevant documents. The normal length of a book was only achieved by inserting chronological tables putting events in context between the chapters.

Moreover, the index to all four volumes, which was originally to have been published separately and is over one

hundred pages long, is included in this volume. Reasonably enough, the book is completed by reports on the speech on the first anniversary of the Franco-Federal Republic Friendship Treaty and the text of Adenauer's last public speech given two months before his death in Madrid, an appeal for the creation of a European political union.

It is doubtful whether Adenauer would have made many allusions to the existing chapters, or whether he would have indulged in personal statements as he did in the third volume where he urged on Ludwig Erhard whom he disliked. The first two volumes are, in fact, in the same style: interminably long, official reports.

At any rate, indirectly Konrad Adenauer's memoirs do justice to his successor as regards foreign policy. By reproducing the conversations with President de Gaulle he has made it clear that Franco-Federal Republic relations were not enumerated for the first time by Erhard. As early as 1959 the Chancellor was horrified by speeches given by De Gaulle's Ministers Debré and Couve de Murville.

The whole volume reveals the attempts of an old and an extremely old politician to talk each other over. In reality, they constantly talked past one another. And in so doing Adenauer does not cut a very good figure.

Apparently he remained silent when the President concluded, commenting on the Chancellor's French pro-European friends from the time of the Fourth Republic: "There are many people from the Fourth Republic who are very unhappy in the Fifth Republic. During the Fourth Republic that political game whereby anyone can get to be Prime Minister, even if for a short period, was played unceasingly. Admittedly nothing was achieved, but the game itself satisfied many people. Political parties and also the press took part in this game. The Fifth Republic put an end

to this game. The stability of the government is a fact and one is bound to say that in the National Assembly the political parties have been effectively checked. Moreover, today the vast mass of the French people have very little interest in the political parties." This is typical of anti-parliamentary thinking.

Adenauer constantly repeated to De Gaulle his theory of the imminent Russo-German conflict. He even regarded the Soviet Union as Europe's protective barrier against the Chinese. President de Gaulle was more reserved on this point.

What did Adenauer want to say to Krushchev on the latter's proposed visit to Bonn, a visit which never took place? The Chancellor held forth to De Gaulle on the motives for the Soviet Premier's trip to the Rhine: "One factor is that Erhard could not, immediately on taking office, burden himself by having to give way too much in negotiations with the Russians on the question of reunification in order to bring about reunification, whereas I, in any event about to retire, could take this burden upon myself."

Did Adenauer want to accept this burden? The only five personal and not merely factual lines in the book provide much food for thought: "However I was prevented from undertaking this step (negotiations with Krushchev). Fears were voiced to the effect that I intended to exploit the opportunity in order to remain in office longer, and so I could not count on the necessary support."

The proposed visit to Bonn also played a part in Krushchev's disinterest. Was a golden opportunity missed? At present only these two sentences give any clue four pages later the memoirs break off. But from the preceding volumes one is bound to conclude that Adenauer is scarcely likely to have come to any other conclusion if he had been able to complete this book.

Horst Köpcke
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 February 1969)

Dep. 10.15.10

LITERATURE

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The customary form of presentation is a critical edition of the author's collected works including fragments, diaries, letters, jottings and so on. A fine edition of this kind is the collection of Goethe's works published at Weimar, 1887-1919. Scholars consider this to be the most reliable edition.

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draft copy written by himself, every entry in his diary and every jotting in the honest expectation that the entire body of his literary work would be of interest to future generations.

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Hauptmann also preserved all his notes and diligently kept a diary. Gradually he built up quite a library and scholars were engaged to keep it in order. Over the years Hauptmann had several secretaries who became his trusted friends—Jauner, Kestner and, towards the end, Behl, who in the post-war years removed the entire library to the country home of Ebermayer, the author, where it was safe from harm.

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Writings kept at Ronco by son

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A high price was paid. Donors included the Federal government, the West Berlin Klassenlotterie and private persons throughout the country.

The value of such an enormous body of writing cannot, however, be reduced to money terms. It is significant or otherwise only to the extent that it is expertly evaluated or exercises an influence on the educated class.

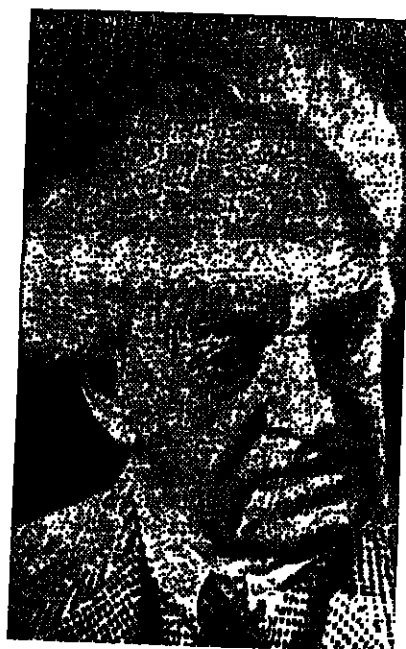
Some conception of the extent of this bequest is given when it is noted that it consists of 629 bound collections of manuscripts, of which 30,000 pages were written by Hauptmann. The remaining 40,000 pages of typescript are also regarded as being authentic since in this respect the author's assistants were most conscientious, especially Fräulein Jungmann, his last secretary who worked for him for many years and died a few years ago as Lady Beerbohm, widow of that splendid British author, Sir Max Beerbohm, in her villa in Rapallo.

Many of these typewritten texts have clearly been read and corrected by Hauptmann himself, but others too are taken to be genuine. This archive includes all Hauptmann's notes, variations and printed texts. The only manuscripts that are missing are those of his three early plays, which are, however, among his most famous: *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, which was Hauptmann's breakthrough on the stage; *Die Weber*, his most powerful

play; and the only comedy he wrote, *Der Biberpelz*.

A few manuscripts from his earliest attempts with the pen are also missing, but such gaps are unavoidable. His tetralogy on the Legend of the Atrides is available in all its variations; also *Till Eulenspiegel*, in several versions and the *Grosse Traum*, also in its preliminary versions. Everything scholars could need for a critical and historical edition of Hauptmann's works has been classified.

This edition is now the Foundation's main concern because in it will be mirrored



Gerhart Hauptmann
(Photo: dpa)

rored the true value of this acquisition. No time must be lost in starting on this edition, although this is to cast no reflection on that excellent complete edition published by the Propyläen Verlag and edited by Professor Hasso. This edition contains many of the most important works and sketches of Hauptmann's works, but it does not include the letters, diaries and notes, and also many textual variations.

Gerhart Hauptmann must be appreciated for what he was, namely, one of the few really great German-speaking dramatists. Until this comprehensive edition appears work cannot begin on a systematic scientific evaluation of the author in all his phases. This collection of Hauptmann's writings is the key to an entirely new appraisal of the writer.

The bequest contains some 19,000 letters, 2,600 of which were penned by Gerhart Hauptmann himself. It is understandable that the literary personalities of the day, from Rainer Maria Rilke and Thomas Mann to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel and the Expressionists all corre-

sponded at one time or another with this gentle, fatherly and wise man. Very few of these letters have ever been published. Apart from Hauptmann's manuscripts, his library too, numbering 4,000 volumes, will be an important source of research. Nearly 1,000 volumes have been written over in places or have marginal observations.

The importance of these jottings for scholarly research is exemplified by one example. German bibliophiles are aware that a copy of Zimmermann's *Geschichte der deutschen Bauernkriege* exists in which Hauptmann jotted down entire scenes or sketches of dialogue from his play *Florian Geyer*. This would be an invaluable aid to Hauptmann scholars and students of German philology.

Drafts and fragments

The value of such a collection is not exhausted in academic application. Draft copies and fragments may have an appeal and a significance which is lacking in the finished works. Besides, the availability of accurately dated textual variations gives an insight into the creative development of the author which can otherwise only be surmised.

Reading the early versions of some of Goethe's poems and then the finished versions one is struck by the genius that could transform a pretty, charming and apparently completed version into a masterpiece. But an academic publication of works giving their textual progressions does not only serve the science of literary research, it opens a portal into the mind of the author. It is as though one were to step into a labyrinth of mirrors which are confusing at first but then reveal on closer examination a poetic physiognomy from all angles, in all outlines.

It is left to the ability and imagination of the observer to arrange the various reflections perceived into a true and plastic image. There was a time when it was feared that this collection of the works of Gerhart Hauptmann would pass into American hands. This, to be sure, would not be the worst that could happen to it. Many American universities, notably Yale, acquired the literary estates of many German writers after the war and they are known to be most proud and mindful of these possessions.

But it is better—indeed, the best possible arrangement—that this unique body of posthumous works should remain in its native environment. For this achievement alone the Prussian Cultural Foundation must be highly commended.

(DIE WELT, 6 February 1969)

Writers try to form a workable professional union

The secretary of the North German Authors' union recently threw out a challenge to the Federal Republic by saying that the only way to resist the "exploitation of writers in a neo-capitalist society" was to create greater solidarity among writers. Dieter Lattmann, chairman of the association of writers' unions in this country has raised the call to "unite, unite, unite!" Thus far, writers have been united only in a mosaic of splinter groups.

The organisation of Federal Republic authors which has failed to represent the interests of writers adequately because it is not sufficiently known or centrally organised intends to improve matters. A "preliminary vote" was held in West Berlin and eleven of the thirteen member groups (two groups abstained) favoured the formation of a central association of authors with branches in all Federal states and specially appointed committees. The association is to be constituted next June

in Cologne. It is hoped to come to some arrangements too with the Confederation of Trade Unions.

Ample reasons exist for the formation of such a society in which writers can better defend their interests. One such is this country's approach to the Stockholm agreement whereby books can be translated and printed without royalty payments in 28 developing countries. This would place the burden of development aid on to the shoulders of writers, as has already been done in the case of publication of school books and religious literature.

The burden of the added value tax introduced in January last year was also shifted by publishers and radio corporations primarily on to writers' fees.

Nevertheless, little suggests that writers' prospects will improve greatly when federative barriers have been removed. For, the difficulties of the professional

associations stem not only from fragmentation of policy but from the nature of the profession itself.

Those who have a notion of what status an authors' union would have in a trade union beside other unions (the metalworkers' union, for example) will remain sceptical, however serious Madame de Staël may have been when she said we were a people of thinkers and scholars. No programme in the accepted sense can be drawn up for writers.

Besides, writers' professional interests are so diffuse. Günter Grass and a minor provincial poet may have technically the same profession, but their interests, incomes and problems are essentially different.

The danger exists too that those who will have most to say in the association will have no influence, whereas those who really would have a voice may have little time to devote to the affairs of the association.

Can Walser, Hochhuth, Grass, Böll, Lenz and Handke be expected to immerse themselves in the exacting work of such an association?

(DIE ZEIT, 7 February 1969)

THINGS SEEN

The Romans in Rumania

Städter Stadt-Anzeiger

The title of the exhibition, *Romans in Rumania*, awakens memories. It recalls *Romans on the Rhine* at Cologne's Kunsthalle two years ago.

Strong connections exist in fact between both exhibitions. The strong influence of Roman rule in Europe is again documented, as are the differences and common interests of two former outposts of Rome.

In Rumania no such survey has ever been assembled of the cultural and historical landmarks in the decisive phase of development of this Balkan country. The detailed catalogue—of great scientific interest since it contains the latest findings of Rumanian research in this field—features 1,000 items.

The Danubian cousins of Rome present themselves in Cologne. A short stroll through the Kunsthalle, however, suffices to show how weaker is the evidence of Roman influence in this part of the world compared with the Roman legacy on the Rhine.

Not as extensive as the Romans on the Rhine

This statement is innocent of all accusation. It merely stresses the fact that traces of Roman culture in Rumania cannot be as extensive as they are in the Rhineland since Rome's sway extended to the territory now known as Rumania only for about 165 years. Romans were present on the Rhine for a good five hundred years.

Also worth noting is that whereas on the Rhine the Romans left behind traces of an urban civilisation the Rumanian Romans were of a more rustic nature. Rumania, which means *Romans' land*, was populated before the Latin occupation by people known today as the Dac or Getae, tribes of the southern Balkans.

In these tribes originated the culture that developed in the Bronze Age. They are worthily represented at the Cologne exhibition by the Sinceraunt treasure, whose silver bowls, coins and jewelry date back to the first millennium before Christ.

Bayreuth's cast for 1969

Wolfgang Wagner has disclosed details of the cast selected for this year's Bayreuth Festival to be held from 25 July to 28 August. Both Siegfried parts will be taken for the first time by Jess Thomas, who succeeds Wolfgang Windgassen in *Götterdämmerung*. Wolfgang Windgassen will appear as Loge and Tristan.

Besides Theo Adam, the British baritone Norman Bailey has been engaged to sing the part of Hans Sachs. Mr Bailey, whose German is excellent, excelled in this part in Covent Garden.

Helga Brühl, the Swede whom Birgit Nilsson recommended, will sing Siegmund in the second Ring cycle. James King will appear in the first. Birgit Nilsson will confine herself this year to Isolde.

Senta and Kundry will each be sung three times by Gwyneth Jones. Eva will be taken by Helga Demesch.

The Irish singer Donald McIntyre will alternate for the first time with Theo Adam as the Flying Dutchman.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 February 1969)



Fragments of a bronze statue dating from the time of the Emperor Caracalla
(Photo: Katalog)

imperial statue. It is cast and embossed in bronze which was gilded at a later date.

Economic life, professions, living facilities medicine and daily life are manifest in gravestones, vessels of various kinds, cups and bowls and plates and an array of urns. Beside these are oil lamps, clay conduits, perfume bottles, amphorae and coins—the useful and luxurious trappings of a civilisation which was eventually adopted so willingly by the Dacians that they gave permanence to things Roman in the Balkans.

The Greco-Roman mythological world also extended to Dacia and merged with the native gods, such as the Thracian rider (the Danube rider) and Dionysus who came from Thracia. Oriental religious myths which coloured the intellectual life of Dacia included Cybele and Isis, who were revered, Jupiter and the mil-

stabbing Mithras, who was the god of the Legions throughout the Roman Empire.

Romans in Rumania never quite discarded their provincialisms, however. These are evident in the rough quality of the material used, in the blue-veined marble, for example, which would have been discarded in Rome. Another example is the almost iconographically rigid application of symbols which are also reflected in figurative work.

The exhibition contains samples of the kind of the statue with its broad, rural features that was bought in the sad hope that the work bore a resemblance to some defunct loved one. Romans in Rumania were the first to cross the Rhine-Danube fortified frontier to the north, thus extending the natural limits of the Empire.

The historical consequences of this move have assumed cultural and in our days political dimensions.

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 February 1969)

Art beyond art by Ferdinand Kriwet

DESTRUCTION AND AESTHETICS



The exhibition gives a generous sample of his work and is arranged in a cleverly instructive pattern.

Ferdinand Kriwet was born in Düsseldorf in 1942 and began to paint letters about six years ago. His first attempts show an aversion to one-dimensional text is clear.

Kriwet's early letters would not have distinguished themselves from similar work by other artists were it not for the genius Kriwet displays in applying the method of confusing, blurring and blending unequivocally stated facts to many media. Assembled in Cologne are textual pictures, diads and accumulations which can manipulate the viewer into "readable" position. But this is not all. Besides Kriwet's artistic method of turning pop buttons complete with slogans into brightly coloured superposters with anagrammatically confused nonsense sayings, besides his air-filled plastic cushions the transparency of which turns their textual imprints on each of the six surfaces into an unreadable conglomeration of words—besides all this the visitor sees in a detailed collection the synopses of all Kriwetian multi-medial ambitions.

For all that, one is remarkably unaffected by the composition of six television sets with asynchronously operated slides,

all alike, along with posted-on Kriwet manifestos and documentary photos of various Kriwetian spectacles. The intended multi-perspectivist, multi-sensory and synoptic bombardment of optical, acoustic and tactile stimuli is recognised as having "critical" intent and is thus perceived as a "preliminary" manoeuvre or, to be more exact, as an artistic argument which is resolved at the very moment when it is accepted as such. The question of what comes afterwards is therefore only at first glance reactionary.

Irritating encrusted, in other words, unconscious visual, acoustic and intellectual habits with multimedial stimulants and provocations is doubtless meaningful. Much can be said in favour of exploiting irritating means to bring to awareness entrenched, preprogrammed and uncritical consumption and information.

Since this demonstration, as important as it is, has been held in a cultural building, that is, in Cologne's Kunstverein, it should be legitimate to ask what should be transmitted to the multimedially sharpened awareness in terms of truth after a period of training à la Kriwet.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 February 1969)

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Hauptmann's writings remained in Ronco until the Prussian Cultural Foundation contacted Benvenuto's widow with a view to acquiring the entire collection and giving it a permanent home in the new wing of the Staatsbibliothek in West Berlin, which was built by Hans Scharoun. Besides the Goethe collection, this is probably the most comprehensive literary bequest of any German writer. It is also the greatest single acquisition by the Prussian Cultural Foundation since its foundation.

A high price was paid. Donors included the Federal government, the West Berlin Kassenlotterie and private persons throughout the country.

The value of such an enormous body of writing cannot, however, be reduced to money terms. It is significant or otherwise only to the extent that it is expertly evaluated or exercises an influence on the educated class.

Some conception of the extent of this bequest is given when it is noted that it consists of 629 bound collections of manuscripts, of which 30,000 pages were written by Hauptmann. The remaining 40,000 pages of typescript are also regarded as being authentic since in this respect the author's assistants were most conscientious, especially Fräulein Jungmann, his last secretary who worked for him for many years and died a few years ago as Lady Beerbohm, widow of that splendid British author, Sir Max Beerbohm, in her villa in Rapallo.

Many of these typewritten texts have clearly been read and corrected by Hauptmann himself, but others too are taken to be genuine. This archive includes all Hauptmann's notes, variations and printed texts. The only manuscripts that are missing are those of his three early plays, which are, however, among his most famous: *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, which was Hauptmann's breakthrough on the stage; *Die Weber*, his most powerful

play; and the only comedy he wrote, *Der Biberpelz*.

A few manuscripts from his earliest attempts with the pen are also missing, but such gaps are unavoidable. His totality on the Legend of the Atrides is available in all its variations; also *Till Eulenspiegel*, in several versions and *Grosse Trauen*, also in its preliminary versions. Everything scholars could need for a critical and historical edition of Hauptmann's works has been classified.

This edition is now the Foundation's main concern because in it will be mirrored



Gerhart Hauptmann

(Photo: dpa)

rored the true value of this acquisition. No time must be lost in starting on this edition, although this is to cast no reflection on that excellent complete edition published by the Propyläen Verlag and edited by Professor Hasse. This edition contains many of the most important versions and sketches of Hauptmann's works, but it does not include the letters, diaries and notes, and also many textual variations.

Gerhart Hauptmann must be appreciated for what he was, namely, one of the few really great German-speaking dramatists. Until this comprehensive edition appears, work cannot begin on a systematic scientific evaluation of the author in all his phases. This collection of Hauptmann's writings is the key to an entirely new appraisal of the writer.

The bequest contains some 19,000 letters, 2,800 of which were penned by Gerhart Hauptmann himself. It is understandable that the literary personalities of the day, from Rahner Maria Rilke and Thomas Mann to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Franz Werfel and the Expressionists all corre-

sponded at one time or another with this gentle, fatherly and wise man. Very few of these letters have ever been published.

Apart from Hauptmann's manuscripts, his library too, numbering 4,000 volumes, will be an important source of research. Nearly 1,000 volumes have been written over in places or have marginal observations.

The importance of these jottings for scholarly research is exemplified by one example. German bibliophiles are aware that a copy of Zimmermann's *Geschichte der deutschen Bauernkriege* exists in which Hauptmann jotted down entire scenes or snippets of dialogue from his play *Florian Geyer*. This would be an invaluable aid to Hauptmann scholars and students of German philology.

Drafts and fragments

The value of such a collection is not exhausted in academic application. Draft copies and fragments may have an appeal and a significance which is lacking in the finished works. Besides, the availability of accurately dated textual variations gives an insight into the creative development of the author which can otherwise only be surmised.

Reading the early versions of some of Goethe's poems and then the finished versions one is struck by the genius that could transform a pretty, charming and apparently completed version into a masterpiece. But an academic publication of works giving their textual progressions does not only serve the science of literary research, it opens a portal into the mind of the author. It is as though one were to step into a labyrinth of mirrors which are confusing at first but then reveal on closer examination a poetic physiognomy from all angles, in all outlines.

It is left to the ability and imagination of the observer to arrange the various reflections perceived into a true and plastic image. There was a time when it was feared that this collection of the works of Gerhart Hauptmann would pass into American hands. This, to be sure, would not be the worst that could happen to it. Many American universities, notably Yale, acquired the literary estates of many German writers after the war and they are known to be most proud and mindful of these possessions.

But it is better—indeed, the best possible arrangement—that this unique body of posthumous works should remain in its native environment. For this achievement alone the Prussian Cultural Foundation must be highly commended.

(DIE WELT, 6 February 1969)

Writers try to form a workable professional union

The secretary of the North German Authors' union recently threw out a challenge to the Federal Republic by saying that the only way to resist the "exploitation of writers in a neo-capitalist society" was to create greater solidarity among writers. Dieter Lattmann, chairman of the association of writers' unions in this country has raised the call to "unite, unite, unite!" Thus far, writers have been united only in a mosaic of splinter groups.

The organisation of Federal Republic authors which has failed to represent the interests of writers adequately because it is not sufficiently known or centrally organised intends to improve matters. A "preliminary vote" was held in West Berlin and eleven of the thirteen member groups (two groups abstained) favoured the formation of a central association of authors with branches in all Federal states and specially appointed committees. The association is to be constituted next June

in Cologne. It is hoped to come to some arrangements too with the Confederation of Trade Unions.

Ample reasons exist for the formation of such a society in which writers can better defend their interests. One such is this country's approach to the Stockholm agreement whereby books can be translated and printed without royalty payments in 28 developing countries. This would place the burden of development aid on to the shoulders of writers, as has already been done in the case of publication of school books and religious literature.

The burden of the added value tax introduced in January last year was also shifted by publishers and radio corporations primarily on to writers' fees.

Nevertheless, little suggests that writers' prospects will improve greatly when federative barriers have been removed. For, the difficulties of the professional

associations stem not only from fragmentation of policy but from the nature of the profession itself.

Those who have a notion of what status an authors' union would have in a trade union beside other unions (the metalworkers' union, for example) will remain sceptical, however serious Madame de Staël may have been when she said we were a people of thinkers and scholars. No programme in the accepted sense can be drawn up for writers.

Besides, writers' professional interests are so diffuse. Günter Grass and a minor provincial poet may have technically the same profession, but their interests, incomes and problems are essentially different.

The danger exists too that those who will have most to say in the association will have no influence, whereas those who really would have a voice may have little time to devote to the affairs of the association.

Can Walser, Hochhuth, Grass, Böll, Lenz and Handke be expected to immerse themselves in the exacting work of such an association?

(DIE ZEIT, 7 February 1969)

THINGS SEEN

The Romans in Rumania

Adrian Gheorghiu

The title of the exhibition, *Romans in Rumania*, awakens memories. It recalls *Romans on the Rhine* at Cologne's Kunsthalle two years ago.

Strong connections exist in fact between both exhibitions. The strong influence of Roman rule in Europe is again documented, as are the differences and common interests of two former outposts of Rome.

In Rumania no such survey has ever been assembled of the cultural and historical landmarks in the decisive phase of development of this Balkan country. The detailed catalogue—of great scientific interest since it contains the latest findings of Rumanian research in this field—features 1,000 items.

The Danubian cousins of Rome present themselves in Cologne. A short stroll through the Kunsthalle, however, suffices to show how weaker is the evidence of Roman influence in this part of the world compared with the Roman legacy on the Rhine.

Not as extensive as the Romans on the Rhine

This statement is innocent of all accusation. It merely stresses the fact that traces of Roman culture in Rumania cannot be as extensive as they are in the Rhineland since Rome's sway extended to the territory now known as Rumania only for about 165 years. Romans were present on the Rhine for a good five hundred years.

Also worth noting is that whereas on the Rhine the Romans left behind traces of an urban civilisation the Rumanian Romans were of a more rustic nature. Rumania, which means *Romans' land*, was populated before the Latin occupation by people known today as the Dacians or Getae, tribes of the southern Balkans.

In these tribes originated the culture that developed in the Bronze Age. They are worthily represented at the Cologne exhibition by the Sinceraloni treasure, whose silver bowls, coins and jewelry date back to the first millennium before Christ.

Bayreuth's cast for 1969

Wolfgang Wagner has disclosed details of the cast selected for this year's Bayreuth Festival to be held from 25 July to 28 August. Both Siegfried parts will be taken for the first time by Jess Thomas, who succeeds Wolfgang Windgasseus in *Götterdämmerung*. Wolfgang Windgasseus will appear as Loge and Tristram.

Besides Theo Adam, the British baritone Norman Bailey has been engaged to sing the part of Hans Sachs. Mr Bailey, whose German is excellent, excelled in this part in Covent Garden.

Helge Brilioth, the Swede whom Birgit Nilsson recommended, will sing Siegmund in the second Ring cycle. James King will again appear in the first. Birgit Nilsson will confine herself this year to Isolde.

Senta and Kundry will each be sung three times by Gwyneth Jones. Eva will be taken by Helga Demesch.

The Irish singer Donald McIntyre will alternate for the first time with Theo Adam as the Flying Dutchman.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 February 1969)



Fragments of a bronze statue dating from the time of the Emperor Caracalla

(Photo: Katalog)

imperial statue. It is cast and embossed in bronze which was gilded at a later date.

Economic life, professions, living facilities medicine and daily life are manifest in gravestones, vessels of various kinds, cups and bowls and plates and an array of urns. Beside these are oil lamps, clay conduls, perfume bottles, amphorae and coins—the useful and luxurious trappings of a civilisation which was eventually adopted so willingly by the Dacians that they gave permanence to things Roman in the Balkans.

The Greco-Roman mythological world also extended to Dacia and merged with the native gods, such as the Thracian rider (the Danube rider) and Dionysus who came from Thracia. Oriental religious myths which coloured the intellectual life of Dacia included Cybele and Isis, who were revered, Jupiter and the built-

stabbing Mithras, who was the god of the Legions throughout the Roman Empire.

Romans in Rumania never quite discarded their provincialisms, however. These are evident in the rough quality of the material used, in the blue-veined marble, for example, which would have been discarded in Rome. Another example is the almost iconographically rigid application of symbols which are also reflected in figurative work.

The exhibition contains samples of the kind of the statue with its broad, rural features that was bought in the sad hope that the work bore a resemblance to some defunct loved one. Romans in Rumania were the first to cross the Rhine-Danube frontier to the north, thus extending the natural limits of the Empire.

The historical consequences of this move have assumed cultural and in our days political dimensions.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 February 1969)

Art beyond art by Ferdinand Kriwet

DESTRUCTION AND AESTHETICS



The exhibition gives a generous sample of his work and is arranged in a cleverly instructive pattern.

Ferdinand Kriwet was born in Düsseldorf in 1942 and began to paint letters about six years ago. His first attempts show an aversion to one-dimensional text is clear.

Kriwet's early letters would not have distinguished themselves from similar work by other artists were it not for the genius Kriwet displays in applying the method of confusing, blurring and blending unequivocally stated facts to many media. Assembled in Cologne are textual pictures, dials and accumulations which can manipulate the viewer into "readable" position. But this is not all. Besides Kriwet's artistic method of turning pop buttons complete with slogans into brightly coloured superposters with anagrammatically confused nonsense sayings, besides his air-filled plastic cushions the transparency of which turns their textual imprints on each of the six surfaces into an unreadable conglomeration of words—besides all this the visitor sees in a detailed collection the synopsis of all Kriwetian multi-media ambitions.

For all that, one is remarkably unaffected by the composition of six television sets with asynchronously operated slides,

all alike, along with posted-on Kriwet manifestos and documentary photos of various Kriwetian spectacles. The intended multi-perspectivist, multi-sensory and synoptic bombardment of optical, acoustic and tactical stimulants is recognised as having "critical" intent and is thus perceived as a "preliminary" manoeuvre or, to be more exact, as an artistic argument which is resolved at the very moment when it is accepted as such. The question of what comes afterwards is therefore only at first glance reactionary.

Irritatingly encrusted, in other words, unconscious visual, acoustic and intellectual habits with multimodal stimulants and provocations is doubtless meaningful. Much can be said in favour of exploiting irritating means to bring to awareness entrenched, preprogrammed and uncritical consumption and information.

Since this demonstration, as important as it is, has been held in a cultural building, that is, in Cologne's Kunsthalle, it should be legitimate to ask what should be transmitted to the multi-sensory sharpened awareness in terms of truth after a period of training à la Kriwet.

The mural slogans of the May uprisings are too precious and would be wasted as material for "multi-media" illustrations, wasted in the sense of the anonymous slogan of the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition which suggested that "damage to property is the aesthetics of the cultural revolution."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 February 1969)

Generation conflict everywhere but politics

THE MAIN FEATURE IS TO PROTEST RATHER THAN TO REVOLUTIONISE

What do the students want? To stage protests or a revolution? Looking at events chronologically helps to minimise the uniqueness of current demonstrations.

Student demonstrations against the state visit of the Shah of Iran to West Berlin in the summer of 1967 ushered in a movement which called itself Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO) and aimed to attack the social and political structure of the Federal Republic.

The term Extra-Parliamentary Opposition was misleading, because opposition in the usual political sense was not the objective; the objective was revolution. Moreover, the movement was not extra-parliamentary as protests against the Bundeswehr had been fifteen years previously. It was extra-parliamentary because no organised lobby, no established group took part in the movement.

It consisted almost exclusively of young academics who subjected themselves to the intellectual patronage of a few Marxist professors and during the years that followed attacked the Establishment through all kinds of violent and non-violent protest actions.

The movement felt it was part of an international trend, quite justifiably, but with even more justification it could have been interpreted as the latest manifestation of a phenomenon which crops up periodically in German intellectual history. Specifically German methods and means of expression characterised the movement much more than internationalism.

It is not accidental that solidarity with protest movements in the USA or France was not achieved, nor even intellectual understanding. This country's APO is part of an international student protest by reason of a common attitude to life or a sense of frustration.

Because of the situation prevalent in highly developed Western societies and the stalemate of international politics, a feeling of uselessness has come to the fore and moral appeals or intellectual arguments no longer have any effect.

Cooling off with the passage of time

Instinctively societies and their leaders assume that with the passage of time and through a process of integration into the adult world this feeling will disappear, and that the political expression of this impotence need only be constantly localised and channelled in relatively harmless directions.

There seem to be two main reasons for the frustration of the younger generation in the Federal Republic, the USA, France, and to a lesser extent in Britain and the Scandinavian countries. In this technological age the individual is denied most of the primary joys of life. There is no room for self-fulfilment.

A civilisation which is based on the motor car must control the frenzied circumstances of life and penetrate the private realm. This applies to alcohol, pop music and youthful excesses. A world situation which excludes the possibility of war and thus regards war as a crime abolishes the hero as an ideal and adventure as a way of life.

Even procreation does not depend on the individual's mood because of the danger of overpopulation and the resultant psychosis. Reproduction must be calculated and once again spontaneity is destroyed.

And another reason for this feeling of impotence is that there is no longer any

future. No one can conceive of the future as anything else but a continuation and perfection of the present. The political status quo amongst the major powers is firmly established, all over the world domestic policy is pre-determined by pluralism. No one has any new ideas as to how to shape the world, no one feels a sense of mission which would justify an heroic deed. This kind of thing endangers peace and is therefore taboo.

In this situation everything which does not directly endanger the status quo must be permitted. The principle of the new morality is: everything which does not affect the foundations of world order is allowed. Hence, sex above all.

The ancient conflict of father against son

The fact that politics in the Federal Republic ignore the generation conflict and that the major political parties have systematically suppressed this problem is one of the main circumstances which has given Extra-Parliamentary Opposition much of its élan and aroused secret, but politically ineffective, public sympathy.

During the first two decades of this country's existence, a generation conflict was not apparent in the Federal government's politics. Of course, there were internal party battles for seats on committees and in Federal state assemblies. But there was certainly not a revolt by younger politicians against the older generation, nor were there political trends or factions based on the generation gap.

The young members of the Bundestag did not form a group which pitted itself against the older members. They did not regard themselves as the younger generation and did not produce any new ideas. But that is not to say that the generation conflict disappeared completely in this country and was replaced by mutual harmony, by undifferentiated and ungraded continuity of the generations. Disregarding politics, particularly Federal politics, for the time being, the natural generation conflict can be seen much more clearly on all sides.

In large industrial concerns generation conflicts are as common as they ever were. Young managers feel that their working methods, education and social habits are completely different from those of older executives.

From the point of view of form and intention, literature written in the thirties or forties differs radically from works written in the sixties. The same applies to music and theatre. A clear-cut division of the generations has taken place in the film world. Films by young producers in this country patently oppose older producers and their cynical commercialism. They have declared that grandfather's cinema is dead, meaning the films of the previous generations.

In the academic sphere critical differentiation between the generations can also be perceived, for example between younger and older sociologists, between solidly old-fashioned historians of the Gerhard Ritter school and more modern historians who have studied the views of Anglo-Saxon political scientists.

In all spheres the generations have at least an unconscious sense of their own values and try to make their presence felt in the battle against the preceding or succeeding generation: except in politics.

But the present situation in this country is not sufficient to explain the present protest movement here. It has its own historical dimensions. The history of student unrest in the Federal Republic has never been researched or elucidated

in context. But it is sufficient to point to a few literary examples from the past in order to back up the assumption that extra-parliamentary protest can be viewed as a link in a historical chain.

The Franco-German student agitator Daniel Cohn-Bendit deserves credit for having compared the present situation with the German youth movement of the early part of this century. It is not a counter argument to say that in retrospect the youth movement seems apolitical; this might be true of APO as well.

Going further back to the nineteenth century, the student clubs formed at the time of the unification of Germany should be mentioned as predecessors of APO, but above all the Jahn movement and the student revolt after the Napoleonic wars.

The Jahn movement had an originally revolutionary intention; it was democratic and patriotically minded, both of which went against the political ideas of the dynasties ruling Germany at the time.

The spirit of the times and the ruling powers managed to eliminate the revolutionary tendencies; this also held good for the student associations. And so the Jahn movement and student clubs survived in an unpolitical, acceptable form. At the time they were regarded as a threat, just as one hundred and fifty years later APO is today.

Circumstances at universities between the Wartburg festivities in 1817 and the Karlsbad Decrees, which put an end to the movement, provide extraordinary

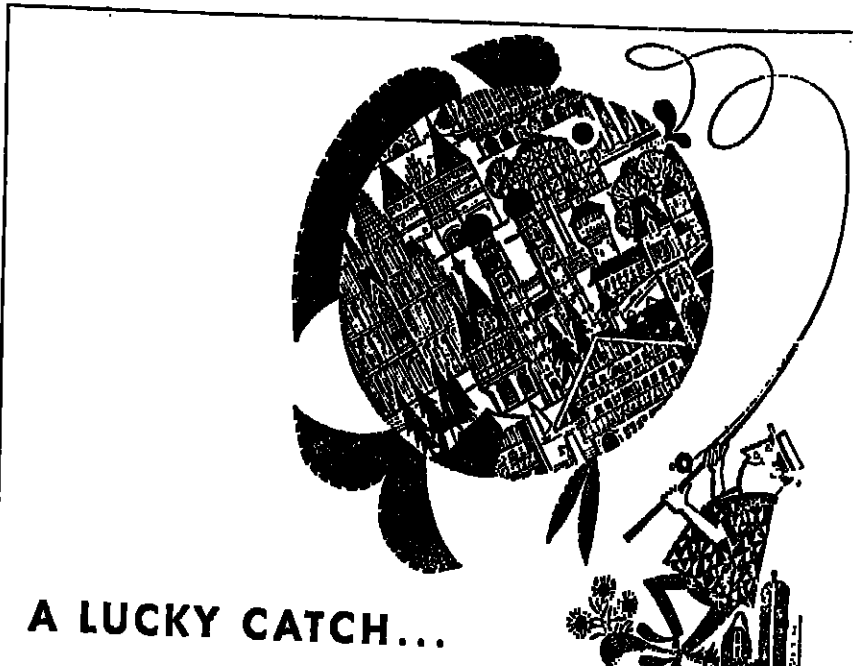
parallels with the situation today. Goethe described some aspects of university problems in a letter to C. L. von Weiden in 1819: the participation of professors, the precarious position of academic autonomy.

At that time too revolutionary students expressed their protest by wearing beards or scruffy clothes and by coarse behaviour. They employed methods of frightening the bourgeoisie probably more effectively than their successors. And the fanatic elements were not afraid to use violence (for instance, in 1819 a theology student named Sand murdered the author and Russian agent Kotzebue).

Student protest movements regarded themselves as revolutionary, they adhered to a revolutionary ideology and used the tactics of revolt, but they were not really revolutionary in terms of political history. The student body as such hardly took any part in political revolutions or attempted revolutions of the time—either in 1818 and 1848 or during the attempts to spread the 1830 July Revolution to German provinces.

The fact that in reality the main object is to protest rather than revolutionise is also illustrated by another point: student unrest does not occur in Germany during periods of general revolution.

Continued on page 9



A LUCKY CATCH...

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for ever but on the contrary during times of political and economic stability: the early period of the German Confederation, the heyday of the Kaiser's Reich, the fall of the Grand Coalition.

History gives the answer to the supposed question about the "revolutionary situation" which worries the APO theorists. Two political concepts are intelligently exploited by internal agitators. The stuttering defenders of the Establishment have no arguments to counter the persuasive power of these concepts, namely discussion as the basis of political activity and democratisation as its aim.

Discussions arranged by APO do create prestige and benefit from the history of the concept of discussion; there is a veneer of liberalism and rationality. But in fact they are a novel phenomenon which has not been thoroughly examined, they are an instrument of the internal political struggle.

These discussions which cause such a stir are not liberal; they are artificial. Topics and agenda are not agreed by common consent but imposed from above. No outsider makes sure the proceedings are orderly or that intellectual and moral decency are maintained. The audience, which attends such a discussion, is not uncommitted, ready to listen to arguments and counter arguments, but has already made up its own mind.

In fact a classic case of a simulated discussion consists simply of a clique and its supporters, who have brought along a spokesman or ringleader who is as an efficient microphone, whilst others attending the discussion are expected to assert themselves as individuals. Thus what is called a discussion becomes a trial in which the audience and ringleaders are both plaintiffs and judges.

Quite often discussion as a militant political weapon fulfils its purpose before it has begun. It is the challenge and reaction have been accepted, then a partnership relationship is established amongst the participants and this means that a hierarchical relationship, where it exists, is given up by simply accepting the constant of discussion. It is not for ever or as a matter of principle, then but a limited period and as a tactical move. It is not always clear when this period ends or when tactics cease.

Democratisation does not mean democracy, which could arouse the natural sympathy of the masses; as a rule the object of democratisation is quite different: new influence and privileges for a group which has hitherto been excluded from power or been unable to make its presence felt adequately.

Democracy means that political leadership depends on the people, that the people elect political authorities and that all political power is subject to the will of the people. As a rule democratisation does not mean democracy but oligarchy.

The idea is to set up a few new bodies, to establish a few new councils. A relationship with the people, the broad mass of those subject to authority, is either utterly excluded or is envisaged as being as indirect, anonymous and as manipulable as possible.

APO has enjoyed modest success. It has been unable to affect society as a whole either positively or negatively. Even at the height of rowdiness and demonstrations which disturbed the bourgeois calm there was no threat to authoritarianism. The threat of revolution has not produced a reaction.

Votes for the National Democratic Party which tried to project an image of a law-and-order party, did not increase during the student campaign but decreased as the economy was consolidated. The people of the Federal Republic have greeted student vehemence and government gaucheness with composure which, if it does not indicate maturity and tolerance, at least illustrates a sturdiness which would be difficult to undermine. Federal Republic society has borne the unrest calmly.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 7 February 1969)

ENTOMOLOGY

Beetles have a 'secret weapon' against bacteria

Beetles which live under stones, in the earth, in dirt, dung or in ponds face numerous dangers. They are not only threatened by loads and fish but also, possibly to a greater extent, by bacteria which enjoy warmth and dampness like the beetles themselves.

It has been known for a long time that numerous beetles defend themselves against large and small enemies with chemical substances. They discharge a secretion containing carbohydrates which are soluble in fat and also strong formic acid.

Because of its effectiveness in killing bacteria, formic acid is used for conserving fruit juices and for disinfecting wine and beer barrels. At the university of Heidelberg, Professor H. Schildknecht and a team of researchers investigated numerous types of beetle and discovered some interesting methods of chemical warfare in the animal realm.

So-called bombardier beetles (Brachynema) conduct chemical warfare against their enemies in the most elegant manner.



A bombardier beetle (Photo: Schildknecht)

If the beetles are irritated by pressure, pinching or heat, they release a veritable blast from their posteriors and a powerful stinging cloud disperses which could put even a large enemy to flight.

This reaction was described as early as 1792 by the entomologist De Meijer, but Professor Schildknecht and his colleagues are the first to explain the details of the process.

Bombardier beetles do not store what are called chitones (substances which burn the skin) in a tiny bladder like other beetles. They keep a supply of hydrochloric acid, which is a stable substance and contains two additional hydrogen atoms, in a 28 per cent solution of hydrogen peroxide: an extraordinarily effective compound which is widely used as bleach—for instance as hair bleach—and is also contained in washing powders because of this property. Hydrogen peroxide is extremely poisonous and the human body,

Cooperation with Cape Town

In Capetown Professor Walter Brendel, La Munnich doctor, announced that his research team was to cooperate closely with Capetown's Groote Schuur Hospital. In particular, antilymphocyte serum which developed by the department for experimental surgery at Munich University Hospital is to be tested at the Capetown hospital.

Antilymphocyte serum, which suppresses the rejection of foreign tissue, was used in the treatment of the longest surviving heart transplant patient Dr Blalberg during a critical phase.

(NEUE RHEIN ZEITUNG, 14 February 1969)



therefore, possesses effective enzymes—catalases—which immediately render it harmless.

Bombardier beetles also possess these enzymes but—except when actually "shooting"—keep them carefully separated from the hydrogen peroxide, together with another group of enzymes called peroxidases, in a number of individual glands. These glands are connected to a real "firing chamber."

If the beetle thinks it must defend itself then the enzymes—catalases and peroxidases—are combined in the "firing chamber" with the secretion containing hydrochloric acid and hydrogen peroxide. This initiates extremely active chemical reactions. The catalase enzymes decompose the hydrogen peroxide into water and hydrogen gas, and at the same time the peroxidase enzymes with the help of the hydrogen peroxide transform the harmless hydrochloric into the aggressive chitones. The whole process is like an explosion and the heat and pressure produced force the mixture out of the beetle's posterior towards the enemy.

But the creature is clever enough not to exhaust all his "ammunition" in one go. Enough of the defensive secretion is retained in the glands so that as many as a dozen "shots" can be fired. As early as 1798 Pastor Wilhelm observed: "By flicking this beetle with a needle behind its wing, where it is most, one can make the creature shoot twelve times. Only with the twelfth shot is his ammunition exhausted; then he needs an hour to refill his powder horn before discharging another twelve rounds."

On the whole the bombardier beetle uses his sophisticated weapon against larger enemies. But Professor Schildknecht thinks that it is also possible that the beetle uses it as a disinfectant for ridding itself and its quarters of troublesome fungi and bacteria.

Water-beetles also have to protect themselves, at least against micro-organisms. For this purpose the dytiscids use a compound which can also be used to preserve perishable foodstuffs. This compound is para-hydroxybenzoic acid-methyl ester, which is abbreviated to PHB and is sometimes listed on menus.

The beetle produces a paste which contains this substance embedded in an albuminoid compound, glycoprotein. The beetle covers its body with this paste and in the open air a thin film then forms on its wings, which also protects the creature in water. The glycoprotein dissolves in water while the water-repellent and disinfectant PHB-ester remains like a fine coating on the surface of the body.

Only a young inexperienced toad would try to eat a water-beetle, for example the dytiscid marginalis or the Ilybius. Why is this? If a dytiscid marginalis is taken out of an aquarium it can be seen that a stream of horrible stinking liquid is excreted from its rear. Simultaneously, it releases a white liquid from two glands nearer the front of the body; this substance can poison fish and amphibians, and this is obviously what upsets the toads.

Surprisingly, an adrenal cortical hormone common to vertebrates—cortexon—has been identified in this secretion. Once on this track, researchers examined other beetles for this hormone and discovered a whole series of vertebral hormones, not just adrenal cortical hormones but also sexual hormones such as testosterone

(masculine) and estrone and estradiol (feminine).

Large quantities of hormones occur in beetles. The dytiscid marginalis, for example, stores half a milligram of cortexon in its neck glands. To obtain the same amount from the suprarenal glands of cattle, one would have to slaughter 1,200 animals.

Not all beetles have such sophisticated weapons at their disposal as water-beetles and bombardier beetles. For some types the best method of defence is flight. Some insects also use chemical substances to assist them in flight.

Stenus bipunctatus, a small black land beetle which can also move well in water, lives near the seashore. If this creature, which is about five millimetres long, is threatened by a bird for example when it is in the water, it hurries as quick as a flash towards the safety of the shore without using its legs. It simply dips the tip of its rear into the water and emits a substance which propels it forwards.

How is this possible? When the secretion was analysed, a group of compounds—all belonging to the terpene group—which become active on the water's surface were identified. As soon as these substances are brought to the surface, they spread out into a film often only as thick as a molecule; at the same time they push obstructions out of the way including the little beetles which thus quickly reach the shore with the aid of this chemical motive power.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 February 1969)

Central medical library

The Volkswagen Foundation has agreed to provide funds up to 375,000 Marks for a provisional library building for the proposed Federal Republic central medical library in Cologne. The central medical library is to acquire specialised books from publishers in this country and abroad to complement local university libraries.

Part of a new building, on which work will begin this year, will eventually be used to accommodate the Cologne central library. Finances will be provided jointly by the Federal Republic Research Association and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

(DIE WELT, 6 February 1969)

Geological research

To improve cooperation between scientists engaged in geological research the Federal Republic Research Association has appointed a commission for joint geological research. It will include experts on geology, geophysics and mineralogy.

The commission is to plan and coordinate future research projects so that scientists cooperate on an interdisciplinary basis. The commission's task will be to build up research teams for both field and laboratory work; these teams will ensure that the physics and chemistry of the earth are comprehensively investigated.

In addition, the commission is to improve cooperation on development aid projects between universities, Federal institutes and other organisations involved.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 February 1969)

AGRICULTURE

Ministerial report follows
Mansholt's recommendations

The report Minister of Agriculture Hermann Höcherl has presented in Bonn will provoke many other reports and rumours about the future of this country's agriculture. Nevertheless, more so than any previous report this one indicates that "agriculture" in the narrow, isolated sense in which it has hitherto been regarded has ceased to exist.

True, despite many forecasts, fewer farmers have increased their incomes, and it is obvious that too many farmers are still just scratching out a living from the land. But such generalised statements reveal nothing about any one family or the plight of individuals.

It is encouraging therefore to see that the Minister of Agriculture has dispensed with general statements and references to an overall disparity in rural income levels compared with those of industry. Calculations according to which "the farmers earn (so and so much) less than comparable groups in industry" provide ammunition for polemical and perhaps obligatory protests, but they do not explain why such disparity exists. Nor do they suggest that one of the reasons for the discrepancies between earnings on the land and in the cities is that the farmers themselves have settled into an outmoded production pattern. Such calculations are a great temptation to lay the blame for everything in the failure of government policy.

When the report is debated towards the end of this month in the Bundestag it will be clear whether the policy-makers are themselves prepared to make the distinctions which they demand of their critics. Deciding where agricultural policy should take effect and where it has become redundant is one of the major problems of our time.

Is Höcherl playing
a practical joke?

Minister of Agriculture Hermann Höcherl is well on the way to falling out of favour with influential groups of the rural population. In the very week when he was given a carnival award he announced that in future farmers, besides having to pay a supplementary tax along with income tax, will receive no more grants from the public purse or other concessions for investment purposes.

The Minister of Agriculture seems to hold the view that a farmer earning a taxable income of 33,000 Marks annually has no more need of public assistance for his operation. Such a farmer, Höcherl reasons, must manage on the sales and price guarantees for most farm products and with the various other concessions allowed the farming community.

Does the Minister realise for whom agricultural policy has been pursued in the Federal Republic for the past twenty years? On whom would fall the "warm rural rain" which Edmund Rehwinkel, ex-president of the Farmers' Union, occasionally mentions with his tongue in his cheek? Certainly not on the one hundred thousand small farmers or would-be farmers.

Those were only needed in Bonn to bring politicians to their knees before elections. The forthcoming subsidies were then diverted into the "proper" channels.

This now is to cease! What does Hermann Höcherl think he's up to? Is it that he is coming around to introducing a realistic farm policy with long-term objectives? Or is it the carnival award that did the trick?

(DIE ZEIT, 7 February 1969)

The European Commission has approved of Sicco Mansholt's recommendations. The Commission is determined to promote agricultural production from revenue only when farm enterprises comply in size and facilities with approved norms.

Sicco Mansholt has no objection to would-be farmers tilling their patch of land and tending their cattle as they see fit. All he objects to is that governments should be asked to finance such hobbies. The community and its member governments are suffering as it is from a shortage of revenue and overproduction.

Without saying this in so many words, Hermann Höcherl's latest agricultural report admits that in the long term a solution must be found along lines suggested by the Vice-President of the EEC Commission. What the experts have known for some time is now becoming apparent. Earned income rises with increased output per worker, so those who demand better wages on the land must also allow that the farm worker should have as it were, a farm factory to operate, wherever this is possible.

Those who cling to a theory of employment, proposing that as many people as possible should be engaged in agriculture, must accept the fact that earnings generally will be low and that farm workers will take every opportunity to complain of their lot. The Federal Ministry of Agriculture is seeking a middle of the road course that will bring about genuine reforms. In the Ministry's view agricultural policy is the responsibility not so much of the Minister of Agriculture (apart from the farmers, of course) as of the departments shaping educational, welfare and economic policy.

These bodies must work hand in hand with the Ministry of Agriculture. This means that Höcherl, Schiller, Katzor and other Ministers, working in conjunction with Federal state bodies and local authorities responsible for regional policy and town planning, must ensure in a pattern of planning and development (that must be repeatedly analysed) that the approach



Hermann Höcherl
(Photo: ringpress/Raatsbergrer)

prize measures are being taken to improve the lot of the farming community, but that also the interests of the country and of the consumer are being served.

The regular exchange of views which Hermann Höcherl demands must not, however, take place only when elections are looming ahead. The forthcoming Bundestag elections it is feared may colour the agricultural debate in which an effort to coordinate the plans of Mansholt, Höcherl, Schiller and other experts, and the danger is that the colour given to the debate in view of the elections will not be the most propitious.

It is suspected that the elections have also prevented greater approval being expressed of Mansholt's views. Hermann Höcherl's insistence that personal freedom and the guarantee of private ownership come first is seen from a slightly different angle in the Mansholt Plan. Personal freedom and private ownership are not prerogatives of the farmers. Consumers and tax-payers also have a deep understanding of their implications.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 February 1969)

Farming and the
economy
as a whole

Hermann Höcherl, the Minister of Agriculture, has worked out a new programme with Under Secretary Fritz Neef. For the first time agriculture is to be regarded unreservedly as a constituent of overall economic policy.

This is to be the first serious attempt to remove antiquated structures. The Minister of Agriculture intends to accelerate the process of adjustment to the general economic trend to improve living conditions for the farming community.

Agricultural policy has been in the hands of progressive thinkers in the past, but the first real reforms were begun by Hermann Höcherl one year ago when he set forth his objectives in his report on rural conditions. At that time he earned more criticism than praise for his frank appraisal of the situation.

Since then, the Minister's realistic approach has received wide acceptance. The Farmers' Union has also bowed to his reasoning.

Much has been said in recent weeks about the Mansholt Plan for agriculture. In a sense the EEC Vice-President has stolen the show from Hermann Höcherl, who was quite pleased with this arrangement because it took him out of the political line of fire.

Those who are acquainted with Herr Höcherl's agricultural programme and have read his Ministry's latest report are aware that this programme, which appeared before the Mansholt Plan, agrees with it in the essential recommendations made. The dispute revolves around how agricultural land should be utilised.

Sicco Mansholt suggests that the best solution would be the creation of large farm enterprises. Herr Höcherl's approach is more complex. He favours combines and co-operation to create the conditions for more extensive utilisation of farm land. He points to the best way in which the farmers can be allowed to decide for themselves, in accordance with the principles of a democracy. This course would probably entail less expense, but it must be pursued systematically.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 February 1969)

Minister's report emphasises variety

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS REDUCED TO A MINIMUM

The 1967-68 farming season is reviewed favourably, in the report the Minister of Agriculture, Hermann Höcherl, has presented in Bonn. The report dispenses entirely this year with figures giving the comparative income scales of industrial and agricultural workers. These statistics were one of the main features of former reports.

More emphasis is placed on the variety of agricultural activity. The report is refreshingly shorter this year, discusses agricultural policy in a sensible manner and predicts good yields for the 1968-69 season.

During the 1967-68 farming year good crops were produced and increasing production of animal products. Net production of foodstuffs was 7.3 per cent higher, but demand lagged behind, causing a drop in prices.

Prices were also affected by legislation brought in during 1967 to regulate quotations for cereals in the Common Market. Returns amounted to 27,300 million Marks, roughly the same as the previous year.

Operating expenditure also increased, but only slightly (1.8 per cent) due to a lull in investment activity. Nevertheless, the differential between returns and working outlay (from which employed family

members are paid) increased by 1.4 per cent. This includes the losses incurred following the cereals deal in 1967 and other government measures.

The agricultural contribution to the national product fell further from 4.4 to four per cent. Exodus from the country is continuing. The number of people employed in agriculture fell last year by 110,000 to 2.63 million.

The number of farms with more than one and a quarter acres of tillage decreased by 24,700 to 1.38 million. Again farms of less than fifty acres accounted for the decline—their numbers decreased by 27,000.

Nevertheless, the average size of farming enterprises over 25 acres has only increased slightly since 1949 from 50.8 to 51.3 acres. The report says that the agricultural structure is still obstructed by too many small farms employing too many workers and yielding too little to justify this expenditure in terms of capital and manpower. The average age of farmers, however, is moving in the right direction. Today, forty per cent of farmers are younger than 45, compared with 25 per cent in 1956.

Model farms in which records were accurately kept a clear account of what returns can be expected. On average farm yielded a profit of over 14,000 Marks,

1,500 more than in the previous year. As ever, the results varied considerably according to size, region and management. Larger enterprises generally posted better returns. Across-the-board comparisons between agricultural and industrial earnings were dropped from the list.

The report stated that agricultural income is being increasingly augmented by earnings from other sources. This is especially true of small enterprises. Comparative statistics therefore do not present the entire situation.

The Ministry of Agriculture is confident that the agricultural breakthrough to new production and management systems adjusted to the highest levels of technological accomplishment will take place without many upheavals and with an adequate labour force, even in the event of greater exodus from the country. Soon after the publication of the Ministry's report on agriculture the Farmers' Union expressed its regret that reference to general disparity rates between agricultural and industrial income levels had been omitted. The union argued that the picture the report presents of the 1967-68 trend is not identical with the realities. One indication of this is the alarming increase in indebtedness of 2,500 million to 26,000 million Marks.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 February 1969)

TRADE FAIRS

Toy industry displays its
best at Nuremberg

A record number of people attended this year's 20th International Toy Fair held at Nuremberg. There were also a record number of exhibitors — 1,352 — from a record number of countries — 33. After setbacks due to foreign competition, particularly from Hong Kong and Japan, the toy industry in this country is now in a very healthy position and this year exports are expected to all previous levels.

Twenty years of toy fairs in Nuremberg, twelve of them international events, are a welcome pretext to trace the growth of this, in the best sense of the word, popular industry. Turnover in this country in 1950 was 118 million Marks. Last year, after an increase of thirteen per cent, excluding the added value tax, returns topped 800 million Marks.

The industry encountered many setbacks and problems in this period. Towards the mid-fifties the Japanese made life very difficult for this country manufacturers. For a while exports stagnated alarmingly.

Gradually then this constant threat was accepted as unavoidable and a new generation of toys came on the market to challenge the foreign products. Exports began again to edge up until they came to account for a steady 36 per cent of production. Last year, exports went up twelve per cent to 290 million Marks. True, 53 per cent of production was exported in 1954 when sales amounted to 250 million Marks, but in 1963 exports accounted for only 32 per cent of returns.

The home market has proved constant over the years and seems well suited to the typically "middle-class" structure of the toy industry with its 24,000 employees. Imports have been steadily increasing, however, apart from a slight drop of two per cent in 1967, the year of the recession. Imports last year reached 200 million Marks, twelve per cent more than in the previous year, and twice as much as in 1963.

In terms of value therefore about thirty per cent of toys sold in the Federal Republic are of foreign manufacture. Who is to complain about this? Considering many of the ingenious articles which have swept the market in this country thanks to systematic marketing policy—for example, the Lego construction kits from Denmark, with their almost limitless variations—one can only welcome the flood of incentives which manufactures, including this country's, have received at the Nuremberg fairs.

Foreign products bound
to gain in importance

In the slump dealers in this country favoured home products because manufacturers were quick to cut prices. It is to be expected, however that in the course of the next few years foreign articles will again come to the fore, especially if, as dealers hope, turnover, now about 1,200 million Marks, can be doubled by 1975.

It would be unwise, however, to minimise the importance of prices. This year,



Max and Moritz, puppets of the world famous cartoon characters drawn by Wilhelm Busch. These were displayed at the Nuremberg Toy Fair.

(Photo: dpa)

price increases of four to six per cent are expected.

These are partly the result of higher costs, especially for raw material. Considering the price trend abroad, little hope is entertained that imports will become cheaper.

Although in the years of record sales parents in this country did not stint on money, especially at Christmas, when it was a question of giving their children the best and newest prestige-surrounded toys, it is to be hoped that they will become more critical and price-conscious when choosing toys in future. Notwithstanding profit margins which, along with fixed prices, are justified with reference to the hazard of marketing many novelties, toys could be cheaper if manufacturers in this country answered the appeal for closer cooperation which is becoming more and more insistent even among themselves.

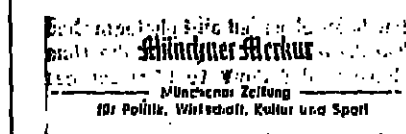
Originality and individuality develop best perhaps in small and medium-sized enterprises, and these must be remunerated accordingly by the consumer. But individuality should not be taken to excess in a time of mass consumption, buyers' markets and international competition.

The toy industry has undoubtedly adjusted itself constantly in the last ten years to the conditions of the world market. Ultimately, however, an industry in which only two companies employ more than 300 people, and only nine more than 300, is endangered. Despite all the reassuring sales figures, this should not be forgotten.

Dr Bruno Tietz, a lecturer in Saarbrücken, said that many manufacturers lack the "very essential dynamism needed to defend a market or to expand it." Indeed, he argued that this industry is "in many cases no longer the prime mover of innovations, instead it has become an imitator." Imports include "classical domains" of this country's industry, added Dr Tietz.

This is a bitter accusation to make, but there may be a grain of truth in it. If the discussion of cooperation and concentration of resources is deferred much longer and all attempts to bring it about are lost in the complacency that accompanies thriving sales, the toy industry in this country may one day receive a jolt from which it will not so quickly or easily recover.

(DIE WELT, 7 February 1969)

A cornucopia of children's
playthings

become more human, if anything. In their kitchens they have facilities of which most housewives are still dreaming.

When the doll's mother tires of playing with her electric cooker and automatic laundry drier she can amuse herself with her new Barbie. These plastic children can hop and play, crawl and run and sing a duet.

The "gentle baby" calls for greater attention. When its nappies are wet it lets up a terrible cry and is quietened only when changed and caressed.

Stuffed animals too are demanding greater attention. On wash day they can be put into the washing machine along with the laundry.

Educational toys are becoming more popular. One publisher of children's books, for instance, presents in a book-and-game combination a story which can be read and in which the child can play with the colourful figures.

Arithmetic exercises can now also be solved as part of a game. Children who are slow in mathematics are assisted by a computer. The manufacturers insist, however, that the computer does not replace the teacher.

(Mündener Merkur, 8 February 1969)

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